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**PROCEEDINGS,**

**ETC.**



**PROCEEDINGS**  
**BEFORE**  
**THE PRIVY COUNCIL,**  
**AGAINST**  
**COMPULSORY MANUMISSION**  
**IN**  
**THE COLONIES**  
**OF**  
**DEMERARA AND BERBICE.**

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**LONDON:**  
**PRINTED BY J. MOYES, TOOK'S COURT, CHANCERY LANE.**

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**M.DCCC.XXVII.**



THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

BY

JOHN H. COLEMAN

IN

THE COLONIES

OF

DEMOCRACY AND BUREAUCRACY

LONDON:

PRINTED BY J. HODGKINS, COURT CHAMBERLAIN

MCMXXIV

IN THE PRIVY COUNCIL,  
COUNCIL OFFICE, WHITEHALL,  
SATURDAY, 7<sup>TH</sup> JULY, 1827,  
IN THE MATTER OF  
THE PETITION AND MEMORIAL  
OF THE  
LONDON PROPRIETORS AND MORTGAGEES  
OF  
ESTATES IN DEMERARA AND BERBICE:  
TO  
HIS MAJESTY IN COUNCIL,  
AGAINST  
COMPULSORY MANUMISSION IN THOSE COLONIES.

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*The Lord President.* — Mr. Adam, for whom do you appear?

*Mr. Adam.* — I appear for the Planters and Mortgagees of Property in Demerara and Berbice.

*The Lord President.* — For whom do you appear, Mr. Carr?

*Mr. Carr.* — I am with Mr. Adam, my Lord.

*The Lord President.* — Are you for a separate party, Mr. Hibbert, or for the same?

*Mr. Hibbert.* — I appear for the Planters resident in Glasgow, my Lord.

*The Lord President.*— We do not hear more than two counsel in the same interest; so far as you seek to set up a separate interest, it will be right that you should be heard distinctly for that interest.

*Mr. Hibbert.*— I do not mean to set up any separate interest, my Lord; our interests are identically the same.

*The Lord President.*— The case of the Proprietors and Mortgagees of Demerara and Berbice resting so completely on the same general grounds, they may be argued together. Do you mean to contend against the general principle of the Order, or the details so far as they may respect the Order made in Berbice, and the Order as it may be made in Demerara?

*Mr. Adam.*— We mean to argue against the whole of the Order.

*The Lord President.*— You mean to argue against the principle of the Order made in the one colony, and proposed in the other—the Trinidad Order, in fact.

*Mr. Adam.*— Yes, my Lord, against the Trinidad order, as applied to Demerara and Berbice; we shall submit to your Lordship, that the circumstances of Demerara and Berbice are precisely the same, and that the same rule applies to both.

*Mr. Carr.*— We shall argue it upon the general question; but that as to Demerara, there are circumstances which bear specially upon the expediency of the Order. We shall first contest the general principle as applicable to any colony, and, particularly, that in this colony of Demerara there are reasons why your Lordships should pause before you sanction such an Order.

*The Lord President.* — Do you mean in Demerara or Berbice?

*Mr. Carr.* — In both.

*The Lord President.* — That though the Order of Trinidad may be right as to Trinidad, it would still be wrong in these two colonies?

*Mr. Carr.* — Yes, my Lord.

*Mr. Hibbert.* — Am I to understand your Lordship, that your Lordships are of opinion, that the petitioners of Glasgow cannot be heard by counsel?

*The Lord President.* — Unless you are prepared to shew that you have a separate interest, it is not the practice of the Council to hear more than two counsel in the same case.

*Mr. Hibbert.* — I am not prepared to shew that.

*Mr. Wilmot Horton.* — I understand Mr. Adam to argue, that the cases of Demerara and Berbice will fall under the same principle, without reference to particular details.

*Mr. Adam.* — Certainly, my Lord.

*The Lord President.* — Will you now proceed?

*Mr. Adam.* — My Lords, I have already stated to your Lordships that I represent the interests of those persons who are proprietors of estates and slaves, and mortgagees of estates and slaves, in the colonies of Demerara and Berbice; and I am sure that those of your Lordships who are more particularly acquainted with the local circumstances of these two colonies will be aware, that a more important and respectable class of persons could not present themselves before your Lordships. Certainly they come here with very great reluctance; and nothing but a strong sense of duty would

have induced them to trouble your Lordships with the Memorial now upon your table, or with the attendance of myself and my learned friend, in support of it. I am anxious, before I enter upon the merits of that case, to state to your Lordships, in the plainest and most distinct terms, that there does not exist any class of the King's subjects who are more anxious for the improvement and well-being of their slaves than these gentlemen. They are willing to concur in any proposal; and to enter into every plan, which can be suggested for these purposes. And I say this the more readily, because I think I have the authority of the Secretary of State for the statement I now make to your Lordships; for I believe I may say, that, with the exception of the great point of Compulsory Manumission, which is now to be the subject of discussion before your Lordships, there has not been one proposition made to the Court of Policy (which is the acting executive body in Demerara), which they have not willingly and cheerfully adopted. I believe there is but one single difference between his Majesty's Government and the Court of Policy, and that is, whether slaves shall be entitled to their freedom without the consent of their masters.

Your Lordships will allow me to call your attention to those documents, which justify, as I apprehend, the statement I have made. You will find that, so long ago as the 18th of March, 1824, Lord Bathurst, when directing the Governor of Demerara to transmit a draft of an Order in Council, adopting the provisions of this (Trinidad) Order in Council to the circumstances of the Dutch law in the colony of Demerara, stated, that, " In the execution of this duty I can have no doubt that

you will receive the cordial assistance of the Court of Policy, who have done themselves so much honour by the prompt and conclusive manner in which they pledged themselves to the abolition of the use of the whip, and of the flogging of female slaves, previously to the unfortunate insurrection, which, for the time, delayed their proceeding further upon the subject."

Your Lordships will also find, that, in a subsequent Despatch of the 20th November, 1824, Lord Bathurst informed the Governor of Demerara, that although he was not able to signify his Majesty's unqualified approbation of this draft of the law, which had been prepared by the Court of Policy, "Yet I am to state, that his Majesty has been pleased to express his satisfaction with the zeal and assiduity manifested by the Court of Policy in giving effect to his royal intentions, and the wishes of Parliament, in favour of the slave population. You will, therefore, apprise the members of the Court, that his Majesty relies with confidence on their continued and cordial co-operation in carrying the measures of his Majesty's Government into complete execution."

And, again, your Lordships will find, that the Governor, Sir Benjamin D'Urban, bears testimony to the anxious wish which the Court of Policy had evinced on every occasion for the furtherance of the objects of his Majesty's Government; and that they had adopted the proposals made to them upon every other subject, except that which is the subject of consideration to-day. Your Lordships will find that he states, "that it is but justice to assure his Lordship, that they have applied themselves to the prosecution of this duty with the

most zealous and patient assiduity, and, as he thinks, with sincere good-will." (Despatch, 14th March, 1825.)

This being the state of mind of the Court of Policy, the actual representatives of the Proprietors and Mortgagees in Demerara, we trust that we come before your Lordships fully relieved from the suspicion of any unworthy motive; and that your Lordships will give credit to those whom I represent, for the most anxious wish, at the same time that they do justice to themselves, to do justice to their slaves, and to all classes of the population of these colonies.

My Lords, the questions as to Demerara and Berbice I conceive are identically the same; they stand on the same footing; but I trust your Lordships will not think, that when I cite the proceedings of the Court of Policy as authority against the passing of this Order in Council, that on the other side I am bound to make any abatement in point of authority, from the Council of Berbice having come to another determination, when I explain to your Lordships the circumstances in which the Council of Berbice stand.

My Lords, the Council of Berbice, (the Council that passed this Order in Berbice,) was appointed by the Governor within a very short space of time before the Order was passed. The Council which preceded them, on the same principles and on the same experience which had actuated the Court of Policy at Demerara, felt themselves obliged to refuse to pass this Order; and his Majesty was immediately afterwards advised to remove from the Council those individuals who had resisted the enactments of Compulsory Manumission. It is

not for me, on this occasion at least, to question the propriety of that advice; but I have to state as a fact, that those persons whom his Majesty was advised to put into the situation of members of Council upon this occasion, are not Proprietors to any extent that can make their opinion of any value or consideration in the colony. Some of them, I believe, do not possess one single slave; others of them possess only slaves for domestic purposes; and altogether they are not persons whose interests can have excited them to consider, or whose attention can have been called to the subject in the way which that of others, who have a deeper interest in the decision of this question, has been. I am quite aware that it may be said, that in consequence of that they are the more impartial. That may be so; but I contend that their authority is of less weight, inasmuch as they have had less inducement to attend to the facts on which alone this case must be decided; and I think your Lordships will agree with me in this at least, that its being the judgment of persons now called to the consideration of the subject for the first time, and without a knowledge of the local circumstances of Berbice, must take away all authority from their opinion. Having stated this, and that we are desirous even of going before the King's Government in any thing which may tend to promote the education and improve the religious and moral condition of the slaves, I conceive that we come before your Lordships with the highest recommendation of the case we have to present.

My Lords, I do not mean to travel into any general discussion of the topics which this Order embraces,



except as they may refer to Demerara and Berbice. It will be necessary for me to state, however, out of what circumstances this Order arose: your Lordships will allow me, therefore, to refer to a resolution of the House of Commons of the 15th of May, 1823, which led to this Order in Council being sent out to Demerara and Berbice, but which, so far from justifying the Order in question, would, if correctly acted up to, go directly to rescind it. The first resolution of the House of Commons, and which was afterwards adopted by the House of Lords, was, "That it is expedient to adopt effectual and decisive measures for ameliorating the condition of the slave population in his Majesty's colonies." The second was, "That through a determined and persevering, but at the same time judicious and temperate enforcement of such measures, this House looks forward to a progressive improvement in the character of the slave population; such as may prepare them for a participation in those civil rights and privileges which are enjoyed by other classes of his Majesty's subjects." The third resolution was, "That this House is anxious for the accomplishment of this purpose at the earliest period which shall be compatible with the well-being of the slaves themselves, with the safety of the colonies, and with a fair and equitable consideration of the interests of private property."

In all these resolutions the gentlemen I represent concur in every particular.

My Lords, in consequence of, or immediately after, these resolutions, my Lord Bathurst sent out a despatch to Demerara, in which he stated the general views of Government on this subject. With respect to the state of

the slaves, he suggested a law being passed to abolish the flogging of females altogether—to postpone the punishment of males to the next day—to restrict them to a certain quantum of punishment—and to take care that the punishment should take place in the presence of witnesses. He proposed the abolition of Sunday markets; and the appointment of a time for the slaves to dispose of the produce of their own industry on other days; and that there should be further means adopted for their religious education. He suggested the taking measures to render the evidence of slaves receivable in all cases, civil and criminal; and the propriety of encouraging marriages among them. But all that his Lordship stated with respect to Manumission was, that it was desirable to repeal certain taxes which tended to discourage it; and to provide for the difficulties which existed, from slaves being incapable of entering into contracts, and from slaves having been made the subject of settlements and entails; but not one single word with respect to Compulsory Manumission is to be found in that despatch. On the contrary, your Lordships will find, that Lord Bathurst, on the 9th of July, 1823, proposed that commissioners should be appointed, who, *with the consent of the master*, should ascertain, by appraisement, the price to be paid by the slave to his master for the acquirement of his freedom. Your Lordships will find, I am quite confident, on examining the despatch of the 9th of July, 1823, that the *master's consent* was made an absolute condition to the acquisition of freedom by the slave.

My Lords, to these propositions the Court of Policy gave their entire concurrence; and nothing but the insurrection which broke out shortly after that time, in

consequence of a false impression having got possession of the slave population—that the King had given them their freedom, but that the masters had combined to deprive them of it; nothing but that circumstance prevented the other measures being carried into effect. The single ground of difference between the Court of Policy and the Government, is this single point of Compulsory Manumission.

*The Lord President.*—Was there any Order with respect to those other points?

*Mr. Adam.*—No, my Lord. The measures were proclaimed as proceeding from the Court of Policy.

With respect to the Sunday markets, with respect to the acquisition of property, and also with respect to Manumission—these three subjects are still under discussion; but, except as to Manumission—I speak under the correction of those who are acquainted with the fact—I state, that there will be no difficulty in coming to an understanding between his Majesty's Government and the Court of Policy: I only press this upon your Lordships, to shew that it was not considered at that time to be a part of the resolution of the House of Commons, that Compulsory Manumission should be introduced into Demerara and Berbice. Your Lordships will find, that when Lord Bathurst writes to the Governor of Demerara, on the 24th January, 1824, with respect to that unfortunate insurrection, he says, "The slaves have misunderstood the views and object of his Majesty's Government expressing the opinions of Parliament: I have already directed your predecessor to notify to the slaves, that the object of progressively qualifying them for an extension of privileges would be rendered abortive by any general misconduct." Again,

adopting the spirit of the resolution of the House of Commons, that that which was to take place with respect to the slave population was to take effect progressively, with caution, and with care, and not until a full inquiry into all the circumstances which bore upon the question had been instituted.

My Lords, it was on the 18th of March, 1824, that Lord Bathurst sent out this Order to Demerara, this Trinidad Order. Your Lordships will find it in the papers of the House of Commons printed in 1825, at page 187. Lord Bathurst simply states, that he encloses that Order. He does not introduce it with any previous explanation—he assigns no reason; but this despatch of Lord Bathurst, dated the 18th of March, 1824, simply states, that he encloses a copy of an Order in Council, which will be immediately passed, on the subject of the treatment of slaves in the island of Trinidad; and that he has to request that the Governor will forthwith transmit him a draft of an Order in Council, applying the provisions of that which he encloses to the circumstances of the Dutch law, which, your Lordships know, prevails in Demerara. That was the first intimation which the colony of Demerara had of the proposal to introduce Compulsory Manumission.

On the 16th of June, 1824, the Court of Policy passed an act complying with every one of the provisions of the Trinidad Order, and they were both numerous and important, with the exception of those to which I have alluded: and they stated to the Secretary of State, as a reason why they could not adopt the clause enacting Compulsory Manumission, that they conceived it would impose upon them a violation of the property of their

fellow-subjects, which they had been sworn to preserve ; that they conceived they had no authority to violate the fundamental laws of the colony in this respect ; and that they conceived, that the capitulation, the terms granted to the colony on its surrender to his Majesty's arms, and which confirmed to the inhabitants the rights and privileges, and the laws, which they then enjoyed, was an absolute and positive bar on their passing any such law. And undoubtedly it is very strongly felt in the colonies of Demerara and Berbice, that the terms of that capitulation, confirmed by the treaty of Paris,—that that capitulation, and that treaty, are to be considered as positive stipulations that the property in slaves was to continue as it then was ; and that such regulations were to continue as were consistent with the then existing order of things.

I need not trouble your Lordships with any further statements of the discussions which took place. Lord Bathurst adhered to his determination, and sent out an order for a draft to be transmitted containing this clause of Compulsory Manumission ; but the Court of Policy being of opinion, on the fullest consideration, that they could not accede to it, in terms which, I trust, your Lordships will think most becoming and correct on their part, sent back the draft of the Order without the insertion of this clause, to which they objected—but with this explanation of their reasons, which I think it important to lay before your Lordships. My Lords, the Court of Policy stated, “That, in its anxiety to conform as much as possible with the provisions of the Trinidad Order, it has, after the maturest consideration, found itself called upon by its duty to confine

its deliberations to the object of simplifying the mode of Manumission, and rendering it as little expensive as possible, and particularly of securing to the slave thus manumitted his freedom in the most formal and unquestionable manner; it has felt it to be beyond its power, without the breach of a sacred trust, which binds its members to protect the rights and interests of their fellow-colonists, by whom they are nominated for that purpose, to give their sanction to any measure which could, even by construction, imply an acknowledged right on the part of the slave to demand his freedom *invito domino*. They feel themselves called upon openly to avow the principle, that they have not the right to invade the property of their fellow-colonists, by admitting that they can in any manner be deprived of it, contrary to the law by which it is secured to them, and which his Majesty has graciously been pleased to guarantee by the articles of capitulation on which this colony surrendered to his Majesty's arms."

My Lords, they then proceed to state a distinction between the circumstances of Trinidad and those of the colony of Demerara, to which it is important I should call your Lordships' attention, and which is undoubtedly correct—that, by the Spanish law, the slave was at any time entitled to purchase his freedom, without the concurrence of his master. The master in Trinidad, therefore, when he purchased his slave, or came into possession of him by descent, knew that he possessed but a precarious property, liable to be defeated whenever the slave should have the means of purchasing his freedom. In Demerara the law was otherwise,—they knew that the slave was not entitled to interfere with

the property which the master possessed : and they state, therefore, as one reason why the law of Trinidad is not applicable to Demerara, that the circumstances in respect of property, of master, and slave, are diametrically opposed in those respects : but they then go on to state, that they conceive, from Lord Bathurst's letter, " that no subversion of the law is intended, and that it is far from the intention of his Majesty's Government to annihilate in this colony the right of property, which is scrupulously held sacred throughout his Majesty's dominions. Slaves in this colony are chattels, as much as any other movable property, unless attached to a mortgaged property, and included in the mortgage, when, during the existence of such mortgage, they are considered as part of the whole property. In the latter case, the Owner of such mortgaged estate cannot dismember his property, piece-meal ; but without such mortgage he has the entire control over his slaves ; neither is it the law, that proprietors can be forced to dispose of their property, real or personal, when its value is offered to them by others ; to give to the slave the right of purchasing himself, against the will and consent of his Owner, will annihilate the right of the Owner, and confer on the slave a power which no other person possesses. The ruinous effects of such a state of things could hardly be calculated in their full extent,—all tradesmen, such as carpenters, masons, coopers, &c., having one or a few slaves, whom they have brought up to their trade, and with whom they earn their living, would be exposed to lose these slaves, the more valuable to them in proportion to the smallness of their number ; unprincipled persons might tamper with slaves—furnish them,

on certain conditions, with money, and entice them, in this way, from the service of their Owner, with a view to employ them under an indenture, and in their new condition probably ill-treat them: while the Owner, who is deprived of them, sustains a loss which no money can repair; his trade is at a stand, or at least on the decline—he is obliged, from want of employment sufficient to maintain his family, to spend for their support the money he has received for the slaves thus forced from him; and finally he becomes a beggar, surrounded by a miserable family, without means to relieve them. The fate of the planters would be equally distressing. It is fairly calculated, that the average number of able effective people upon an estate is about one-third of the whole gang, the remaining two-thirds being composed of infants, who are a burden to the Owner, and of the aged, who receive from him support. The parties most able to obtain their freedom are among the former, a class without whose assistance the proprietor would be unable to carry on the cultivation and management of his property. If the power to purchase freedom be absolutely vested in the slave, free from all control on the part of the Owner, the latter would hold the same by a precarious tenure, defeasible on the production of a sum of money either by the slave or any other in his behalf. Boilers, tradesmen of every description, and others, who form the most useful and indispensable class, might thus be removed from the estate, to the irremediable detriment of the property, and consequent ruin of the owner; as the non-importation of slaves renders the replacing of such slaves so manumitted a matter of impossibility. In progress of a short time, a most valuable estate



might thus be rendered useless, for the want of able men-cultivators as well as tradesmen."

My Lords, I have thought it important thus to state to your Lordships, in the outset, the grounds on which the Court of Policy founded their dissent from the Order my Lord Bathurst sent out in the way I have stated to your Lordships, and which would have made it the law of the colony, that slaves should be enabled to purchase their freedom without the consent of their masters.

My Lords, I have already stated, that, to the resolutions of both Houses of Parliament, the gentlemen I represent gave their decided concurrence; but, my Lords, what is the spirit of those resolutions? In the first place, that the condition of the slave population be ameliorated to the utmost extent. This the Memorialists are ready and anxious to promote. The next is, "That through a determined and persevering, but at the same time judicious and temperate enforcement of such measures, a progressive improvement in the character of the slave population is to be effected; such as may prepare them for a participation in those civil rights and privileges which are enjoyed by other classes of his Majesty's subjects." My Lords, to a temperate and progressive improvement in their condition, so as hereafter to qualify them for freedom, the gentlemen whom I represent make no objection. Our objection is to the proceeding to this extent, at this time, under the circumstances in which the slave population of the colony is now placed. When those most important and useful improvements which have been suggested by the Secretary of State, and adopted by the Court of Policy,

shall have had time to ripen into effect; when the changes that they are intended to produce shall have been brought about, your Lordships will find no objection on the part of the gentlemen I represent to the granting emancipation at the will of the slave; for, by that time, there will have been means actually provided of substituting for slave labour the labour of free Africans: without which the cultivation of the colony cannot be carried on for one single year.

With respect to the last resolution, which is, in effect, that this shall be accomplished "at the earliest period compatible with the well-being of the slaves themselves, with the safety of the colonies, and with a fair and equitable consideration of the interests of private property," no possible objection can be stated.

My Lords, we are quite content, that when, by fair and equitable consideration, clearly provided by the Government, and sanctioned by those forms of law which cannot be defeated, the property of the persons I represent is secured from loss, the slaves shall obtain their freedom.

I do not stop here for one single moment, for I know it is unnecessary to offer any argument with respect to the legality of property in slaves. The gentlemen I represent hold their property in their slaves as firmly and inviolably, and by the same legal title, that your Lordships hold your landed property in Great Britain. I know that it is needless to urge *that* upon your Lordships, for it is most fully acknowledged upon all hands; but I think I shall shew that the execution of this Order in Demerara and Berbice would utterly annihilate that

property, and, instead of ameliorating the condition and forwarding the interests of the slaves, will be in direct opposition to their interests, and most injurious to their happiness.

Will your Lordships consider, for one moment, what is the condition of a West India colony, and the means by which it is cultivated? Of course I confine my observation to the production of sugar, which is the main and essential article of produce—which is the only one of very great importance—or by far the greatest importance—in Demerara and Berbice; and that to which the greatest portion of land and capital is directed. Your Lordships could not, without absolute ruin to those Proprietors, compel them to change the course of cultivation: it would be as direct and complete ruin to them to drive them from the cultivation of sugar, in the present situation of the colonies and of the colonial market, as if you were to annihilate their estates. I assume, therefore, for the purposes of the argument, that sugar cannot be cultivated without the labour of Africans, or their descendants. It is much too late in the day to contend that European labour could accomplish it. We know that animals and machinery are insufficient; and I do assume, that we could not cultivate sugar in the West Indies without the aid of an African population.

My Lords, with respect to the number of labourers in these colonies, it is an undoubted fact, that they are barely sufficient for the demands of the estates now in the course of cultivation. There is no resource, therefore; if the number of labourers is diminished, the cul-

tivation must be diminished likewise. You may take a slave from one estate and place him on another; but as there is no superfluous population of labourers, it is absolutely impossible further to reduce the number without diminishing the produce of the colonies: and I submit to your Lordships, that it is quite plain, that to give freedom to the slaves, now, must diminish the amount of labour, for there is no pretence for saying that the free African has been found to labour on a sugar plantation for hire, for any period of time that is worth taking into consideration. I do not mean to say that, in particular circumstances, there may not have been such a thing as a free negro labouring on a sugar plantation for a time; but I have the testimony of one of the most experienced persons in the colony of Demerara, one of the members of the Court of Policy, a gentleman of the name of Van Berckel, that there is not a single instance to be found of a free negro having laboured on a sugar plantation for hire: and your Lordships will find his testimony confirmed by all those, whose experience entitles them to attention. If this, then, be the fact, your Lordships must be satisfied that the giving freedom to the slaves at present would reduce the number of actual labourers in the colony. But, before you proceed to such a step, which must affect the interests of all these Proprietors, it is not enough for your Lordships to think well of it as an *experiment*. You must be quite certain that it will not put the interests of the Planters into jeopardy. At all events, seeing how the matter stands, you will do it only under circumstances which will secure them reimbursement for the injury they may sustain.

My Lord Bathurst, in a despatch which he sent out to the West Indies, of the 9th of July, 1825, contended that free labour might be found, notwithstanding the emancipation of slaves; and, my Lords, it is fit that I should give the statement, and the reasons of the Government, to your Lordships on that point, in their very words. In the despatch of the 9th July, 1825, "on the Condition of the Slave Population," published in the Parliamentary Papers, 1826, p. 112, your Lordships will find this statement, on the part of the Secretary of State, addressed to Sir Benjamin D'Urban—"If it be said that the master may be thus deprived of the most useful of his slaves, on whose skill and intelligence he chiefly depends, it must be remembered that the price of the manumission of such a slave will be valued accordingly, and that the slave who has, by his industry and good conduct, saved enough to reach such a valuation, is not likely to relapse into a state of indolence: he will have given no unsatisfactory security that he has felt too much the value of regulated industry to be disposed to fall into such habits; and we may reasonably expect that he will willingly continue as a free man, to discharge, for an adequate compensation, the same duties under his old master, which the supposition itself implies are not those of a subordinate character. It has been stated, that instances may occur of slaves being enabled to purchase their freedom, not by their own industry, but by the interposition of others. Whatever may be the motive for such interference, it cannot go to such an extent as to make any serious objection to the establishment of the regulation."

Your Lordships will see that my Lord Bathurst's

reason for saying, that, notwithstanding the emancipation of the slaves at present, there will still be a supply of free labour adequate to the demands of the colony, is founded upon this,—that having shewn themselves industrious for a long period of time, during which they have been acquiring the means of purchasing their freedom, they will not cease to be so when they have attained it; but will continue, from the force of habit and a sense of the benefits to be derived from industry, to labour for hire in a state of freedom. With your Lordships' leave, I will inquire a little into the validity of that reasoning. It proceeds upon this,—that habits of industry, once acquired, will not be given up. That this conclusion is perfectly just under certain circumstances:—that if there be inducements to rouse him to exertion, he will continue to labour, I am ready to admit. I do not contend that these inducements must be pecuniary. Many, undoubtedly, will labour, not for profit and emolument, but for nobler ends—for honour and distinction, and for higher objects. But I think I need not detain your Lordships by arguing, that unless there be something in the estimation of the party worthy of that labour, he will not continue it from the mere force of habit, or for labour's sake. The strength of the argument is, that these persons will be disposed to exert themselves to improve their condition. But we do not find that always to be the case: on the contrary, even in England, experience contradicts this conclusion. When prices arrive at a certain height in the manufacturing districts of this country, so high as to enable the labourer to obtain sufficient for his subsistence by working during only a portion of the week, instead of

continuing to labour during the remainder, to enable him to obtain a competency, and to provide against old age, or the recurrence of bad times, it is the common course, in the great manufacturing districts of this country, to find that the workmen, when they have procured enough to support them for a time, abandon their labour, and give themselves up to idleness.

It is not true, therefore, with respect to the mass of labourers in this country, that they will labour, either through habit, or to better their condition, when it is not required to supply their immediate necessities. But, suppose it be true in England, is it true with respect to the African, labouring under a tropical sun? Your Lordships will make due allowance for the climate. What is the greatest bliss, the greatest happiness, which presents itself to the mind of the negro, according to the concurring testimony of those who have the greatest knowledge of them, what is that which constitutes their *summum bonum*? It is the abstinence from labour, their being enabled to live without exertion, their being enabled to spend their time in indolence and in indulgence. If it be necessary to labour for the sake of subsistence, no doubt the negro under the sun of the West Indies will labour for it; but do we not know that the negro can obtain as much plantain (which is the principal part of his subsistence) by working half an hour each day, as will enable him to pass the rest of his time in absolute idleness? If your Lordships refer to the evidence on this subject, it will appear that the negroes throughout the whole of the tropical climates have followed this course, when it has been in their power to do so; and that the greatest indulgence they can look

for, is the abstinence from labour. After they have acquired food, as they have no further wants to supply, no vanities to gratify, no luxuries to procure, as they possess no feelings of that sort which lead men to an exertion beyond the present moment, the foundation on which Lord Bathurst's argument altogether rests entirely fails him. But there is one peculiarity in the situation of the slave, who is supposed to have purchased his freedom by the fruits of his own industry, which your Lordships will see distinguishes his case from all others, and prevents the application to it of all general reasoning. He does not labour for the sake of acquiring property to better his condition, or to afford him the means of indulging in luxuries, or gratifying his desires or vanities : he labours for one single object — the accumulation of a sum of money, with which he is to procure his freedom. To attain this object in the shortest period, he must deprive himself of all enjoyments that can lead to expence : he must check all desire to improve his present condition : his single object being to accumulate a sum of money, he will be content with the meanest food and the worst accommodation ; so that instead of having acquired any new habits or wants, or strengthened old ones by indulgences, which he will afterwards labour to gratify, he will have destroyed the seeds of any new desires, and made himself indifferent to those he formerly enjoyed. The great motive for exertion, therefore, the gratification of wants and vanities, will in him be weakened instead of strengthened. There will be still fewer objects that can stimulate him to exertion.

Your Lordships, I apprehend, will find, that my assertion that free negroes will not labour in the field, is not



only supported by reasoning, but by that which is much better than reasoning — by fact. I have adverted to the statement of Mr. Van Berckel, that in all his experience of Demerara and Berbice, he has never known an instance of a free negro labouring for hire on the plantation. But still stronger evidence remains to be stated. In the representation of the Council and House of Assembly of St. Vincent's, of the 5th of September, 1826, in reply to a communication from Sir Charles Brisbane, bearing date on the 17th of August, 1826, they express themselves in this manner:—"Among the numerous cases of manumission to the present time, we have been unable to trace in this colony a solitary instance of an agricultural slave obtaining his freedom and remaining for wages, or any other consideration, at his original occupation on a sugar estate. Nor do we think that any reasonable compensation, in the shape of money wages, would induce one of them at the present moment to return to the continuous, although not onerous labour necessary for the culture and manufacture of sugar. If this be the fact, and we challenge inquiry into, and disproof of it if possible, what prospect would the unfortunate Planter in St. Vincent have before him, but that of depopulation of his once valuable estate, and consequent ruin to himself and family? The law now rigidly prohibits the importation of agricultural labourers from the neighbouring and over-peopled colonies; and if the proposition be admitted, that slaves when made free, even with the consent of the master, invariably act as has been represented, in what quarter is the Proprietor to seek relief from such a prospect, or can it be said the fears he entertains are unfounded?" They then go on to state, not certainly

as matter of evidence, but as the result of their experience, what seems to me to be very important for your Lordships' consideration, that "the self-manumitted slave, by whatever means," that is, whether by honestly acquired money, or by gift, or by theft, or in whatever manner, "that the self-manumitted slave, by whatever means this purpose had been accomplished, would invariably leave the property of his former master, and retire to some delightful spot, on the banks of a rivulet, where, with a few hours light work in each week, he would maintain himself, and be relieved from the only evil of magnitude which in his estimation this world ever presented to him — *persevering daily labour*."\* Now, when the Council and House of Assembly of Saint Vincent pledge themselves to such a statement, I submit it is well worthy of your Lordships' attention, as confirming the statement I have made, that the labour of free Africans is not to be obtained in the West Indies.

Your Lordships will permit me to call your attention to the statement that appears in reports sent home from Trinidad, which bears strongly upon this subject. It is a statement by Mr. Le Gendre and Mr. Burnley, who had been appointed to ascertain the price to be paid by a female slave for her freedom, and who give their reasons for having fixed the price they had adopted in these terms. It is among the papers presented by His Majesty's command to Parliament, in the year 1827, part the second, at page 266 : — "The undersigned, governing themselves by the foregoing principles, and it being notorious that in this colony slaves so manumitted

\* Parliamentary Papers on the Condition of the Slave Population, 1827. Part II, p. 105.

altogether abandon their owners, and that it is impossible to engage or contract with any free labourer for any settled term of work, and that the few which are to be procured, come and go as suits their own caprice, so that no dependance can be placed upon them, would have felt themselves bound to value the said Pamela Monro at the sum of twelve hundred round Mexican dollars, to secure to her owner an adequate compensation, had she been attached as a field labourer to an estate." I have here this important declaration of these two persons, publicly declaring, and pledging their credit for the fact, that it is notorious in the Island of Trinidad; that negroes will not continue to labour for hire in the field, after they have obtained their freedom.

My Lords, we have also a very valuable Report of Major Moody, who was sent out to inquire into the condition of the liberated Africans in Tortola. He not only states his own experience of a considerable number of years, but refers your Lordships to other countries, to which it is very important to call your Lordships' attention. I read from his second Report, page 8. "The first cause which I shall now notice, as modifying the influence of the general principle, already mentioned, may be considered as connected with climate; and this, under the circumstances of the West Indies, presents to us an obstacle to the *steady* industry of men, which I fear the application of any stimulus, of a nature merely moral, will scarcely overcome, during the lifetime of the present race of mankind, whatever may be the effect upon succeeding generations. During many years of active superintendence of labour, as an officer of engineers, and in other situations, I have

almost uniformly observed, that the heat of the climate gives to steady and regular labour in the sun, in the lowlands of the torrid zone, a feeling more painful than is experienced in climates where the effects of the sun are less powerful. The free negro, under the influence of this physical cause, is almost uniformly found to be reluctant in voluntarily giving his *steady* moderate exertions in agriculture, although the wages or profits which he might receive would be for his own benefit, and tend to increase his own physical enjoyments. The pleasure of repose, after the physical wants of subsistence have been obtained, is, perhaps, the pleasure most generally enjoyed by the labourers, who can obtain it, in such climates. Under these circumstances, persons in their state of society appeared to me to think it absurd to labour *steadily* in the sun for wages, in order to better their condition, which they seemed to consider, after obtaining subsistence, as, in a great degree, consisting of their power to enjoy *the pleasure of repose* in the shade; and which they could at once procure, by merely abstaining from that labour, by which alone, as a first step, it appeared to me, that their social condition can be improved." He then says (p. 9), that "in speaking of the general operation of the physical causes, connected with climate, on the industry of mankind, working for wages in agricultural labour in the lowlands of the torrid zone, it is proper to add, that there may be a few individual cases, where the general law is not seen to be in operation; but after the most strict inquiry, I have been unable to discover any case of *steady* and *continued* voluntary agricultural industry in the West Indies for wages, such as is daily seen in England, in

those agricultural employments, which require, what we should call *steady and continuous industry*. I am well aware that free negroes, and Indians, in the lowlands of the torrid zone, are found *occasionally* to work for wages in agriculture; but I never found a capitalist, who, in consequence of paying wages, could depend *entirely* on the *steady* and continuous exertion of such labour, however moderate, for that period of time necessary to reap the same crop, which the same free hands had planted. I did, however, on some occasions," Major Moody adds, (it is fit I should state the whole to your Lordships,) "hear of both free negroes and Indians being employed in certain kinds of agricultural industry, such as the care of cocoa, coffee, and cotton; where the crops are gathered, with little labour, from trees or shrubs, admitting of frequent and long intervals of repose, without entirely destroying the crop, though lessening its amount. These free persons generally were proprietors of the soil which they cultivated; for in these countries, land having little value, the cultivators paid little or no rent for it, at least in the country parts remote from towns." My Lords, this is the statement of Major Moody upon his own experience, which your Lordships will find extends over a course of about thirty years with respect to labour in tropical climates.

He then states, in page 23 of his second Report, what had taken place in the province of Colombia. "With reference to the law of the 19th of July, 1821, from my personal observations when in that part of the world, previous to the publication of the law, and from inquiries since it has been in operation, as to the result on productive industry, I am induced to believe

that when *steady* labour in agriculture has been the object to be obtained for reasonable wages in the low-lands of the torrid zone, that certain physical evils have affected the success of the measures there, as elsewhere, under similar circumstances, as to climate, density of population," &c. And he adopts the remark of an author: "No vigilance on the part of Government can remove the natural sloth of such a number of lazy beings, nor repress the excesses which will follow their being left to themselves."

My Lords, with respect to the United States, the southern parts of the United States, Major Moody gives the same testimony (p. 26). "Some of the most intelligent citizens of the United States called my attention to another physical circumstance, which I had also observed in the West Indies, viz. that the white race of men were unequal to the labours of agriculture during summer, in certain low tide lands of the Southern States of the Union; whilst in point of fact, from whatever cause, the free negroes could not be induced voluntarily to labour in agriculture, under those inconveniences arising from climate, &c., for such wages as the average profits on stock to the capitalist would allow. In those states where the climate was colder, the case was different."

Then Major Moody gives very important testimony with respect to a very large body of free negroes. With the exception of those in St. Domingo, the most numerous body of free negroes in existence, I mean the free negroes residing in the back settlement of Surinam, I will take it from the statement of M. Malouet, who visited Surinam in 1777; and, as Major Moody says in his Report (p. 51), had excellent means of ob-

taining information." Speaking of these free negroes, M. Malouet says, "They ought also to have had the greatest interest in keeping up, at least, that kind of industry necessary for the defence, and the increase of their strength. One would have thought that they would have desired to have had within themselves the means of making arms, and repairing those which they are obliged to provide for, by means of exchange; and that having experienced the comforts and enjoyments of luxury, so valuable in the eyes of the Europeans, the hope of obtaining them would be a stimulus to their labour; *but repose and indolence have become in their social state their sole desire.* Their cultivation, confined to that only necessary to supply immediate wants, exposes them to frightful dearths; hunting and fishing are their only resource." Now this being the state of that large assemblage of persons, amounting to forty thousand in the year 1777, let us see what Major Moody says of them in 1807, on his own personal experience (p. 52). "During the period of thirty years, the advance of these people in social civilization appeared to me to have been very little; as it had also been, under very different circumstances, for many years preceding. One important step had been made, in their receiving missionaries from the Moravians. I understood some had been converted to the feelings of Christianity, *but none as yet to the habits of steady labour.*—I also found that a certain degree of *occasional* industry had taken place among the Maroons. Some of their young men had devoted a few days in the year to cutting down trees which nature had planted. From such *occasional* labour they were enabled to procure finery for a favourite female, a better gun, or a new axe;" so that

your Lordships see the state of this large body, for a period of thirty years down to the present day, is such, that, in defiance of all those motives, which are supposed to actuate other men, they are content to indulge themselves in indolence and sloth, from the moment they have supplied themselves with the means of subsistence. This is his statement with respect to the colony of Surinam. I do not mean to trouble your Lordships further with the opinions of that very intelligent person, Major Moody, though I would request your Lordships' attention to them before you decide, because I am anxious, as far as I possibly can, to apply my observations, not to the arguments of any man, but to an examination of the facts which he states.

Your Lordships will find that this seems to be the opinion of other persons, whose means of information entitle their opinions to great weight, with respect to this class of negroes in Surinam. I would beg to refer your Lordships to a pamphlet, entitled, "The West India Question practically considered,"\* where it is stated, page 83, that, "in Surinam there are settlements of free blacks in the back country, to the number of thirty or forty thousand, as they have been estimated by some writers, but which are represented as not containing more than sixteen or twenty thousand, by persons who have visited them at later periods. These blacks appear to continue at the lowest state of civilization, and verify all the principles which might otherwise be pronounced *theoretical*; and it would not be too much to prophesy, that they will remain more or less in that state, until either education and religious instruction

\* Published by Murray, 1826.



shall raise them in their own estimation, and prepare them for the acquirement of more than the mere physical sustenance of life, or until their increasing population, or any encroachment upon the territory which they inhabit, shall impose upon them greater difficulty in providing themselves with means of average subsistence." There is another passage in this pamphlet which I am desirous of bringing before your Lordships. In page 80 the writer states:—"A consideration of the circumstances in which the black labourer in Demerara will be placed when free, will leave little doubt as to the degree of augmentation of wages which will be necessary to bribe him to exertion, *if, indeed, any considerable increase would be certain to accomplish that purpose*; and it could easily be shewn that the master could not *afford* to offer that temptation, that is, to pay such wages, in his character of a producer of sugar.

"A free black has only to settle himself where he pleases within the colony of Demerara, he has only to retire up the river, a few miles back from the extreme margin of the very small portion of occupied ground, where he will find space enough for many thousand times the existing slave population of that colony to spread themselves and their descendants, without any serious obstacle being opposed to them by the scattered aborigines of the country; he will there, on his new location, be able to obtain, by the strenuous exertion of one single day, enough to satisfy all his natural and artificial wants for the space of a week. In addition, he will have the resources of the river and the woods for the supply of fish and game; and he will enjoy that state which all men agree is the state most congenial

to the human being in tropical climates—that of repose.”

My Lords, it is for the authority from whence these statements are derived, that I have taken the liberty of troubling your Lordships with these passages. I will not occupy any more of your time by extracts from it ; but I may request your attention to all that part of this pamphlet which discusses the question of free labour, as highly deserving your best consideration.

There is, as I have already stated to your Lordships, one example, certainly, of a free society of blacks, on a much larger scale than that of Surinam—I mean that of the island of St. Domingo—and one which affords still more important information with reference to this question. Your Lordships will find that, very recently, the government of that country have found themselves under the necessity of enacting laws to which the labouring population of this country would not submit for one single moment, for the express purpose of the regulation of agriculture. For a period of more than thirty years, the black population of Saint Domingo has been absolutely and entirely free. In the course of that time the exportation of sugar from that island has diminished to such an extent, since freedom was given to the blacks, that it has been found necessary to lay duties almost prohibitory on the importation of sugar, in the hope of restoring the cultivation of it on the island. Instead of exporting sugar to an extent that nearly equalled the produce of all the British West India Islands, St. Domingo does not produce sufficient, or hardly sufficient, for the consumption of its own inhabitants : but no argument can be urged of

equal force to that which is afforded by the bare statement of the provisions of that law which I am about to lay before your Lordships. I state it from a publication addressed to my Lord Bathurst, entitled the Rural Code of Haïti.

*The Lord President.*—What is the date of that Code Rural?

*Mr. Adam.*—In May 1826, your Lordship will find it stated, in the preface to this book, that the Chamber of Commons declared, that at the close of their legislative existence, they feel it necessary to provide “for the regeneration of their agriculture, by laws at the same time just and severe:” and your Lordships will now see what these laws are. By the 3d Article of this Code it is enacted, that, “It being the duty of every citizen to aid in sustaining the state, either by his active services, or by his industry, those who are not employed in the civil service, or called upon for the military service; those who do not exercise a licensed profession; those who are not working artisans, or employed as servants; those who are not employed in felling timber for exportation; in fine, those who cannot justify their means of existence, shall cultivate the soil.”

By the 4th Article, “Citizens whose employment is agriculture, shall not be permitted to quit the country, to inhabit the towns and villages, without a permission from the Justice of Peace of the commune they desire to quit, and of the commune in which they desire to establish themselves. The Justice of Peace shall give this permission only after having ascertained that the person asking it is of good morals, that his

conduct has been regular in the canton he is about to quit, and that he possesses the means of existence in the town he desires to inhabit. All those, who do not conform to these regulations, shall be considered as vagabonds, and treated as such."

By the 5th Article, children whom their parents wish to send to school, can only go on certificates into the villages.

Your Lordships will find by the 7th Article, "No wholesale or retail shop shall be established; no traffic in the productions of the soil shall be carried on in the country, under any pretence whatever."

But what I am anxious more particularly to call your Lordships' attention to, are those clauses which relate to the regulation of labour. By the 45th Article, "All persons not in active employment of the state, as soldiers, workmen, and others, and whose business it is to cultivate the soil, or to fell timber for exportation, shall, for the security of their common interests, enter into a mutual engagement with the proprietor or chief farmer of the plantation or wood upon which they are destined to exercise their industry. The engagement with the labourers may be made either collectively or individually."

By Article 46, "No engagement for the second class," for labourers are divided into classes, "shall be for a shorter period than two years, nor for more than nine years."

Your Lordships will find that, by the 48th Article, "Any proprietor, farmer, or overseer of a plantation, who shall receive, or employ upon the plantation any cultivators or labourers, without having made with them

the contract required by Articles 47 and 49, shall be condemned, for the first offence, to a fine of ten dollars for each person so employed ; and in case of a repetition of the offence, to double the amount." Again, your Lordships will find that the details of this provision are most minute, as clearly shewing the necessity the legislature felt to impose, by positive law, the obligation to labour.

Your Lordships will find this in the 70th Article, " Labourers shall perform with zeal and exactitude whatever agricultural labours may be required of them." They shall not (Article 71) " absent themselves from their houses at any time but from Saturday morning until Monday before sunrise, without permission from the proprietor, farmer, or overseer ; on all other days of labour they shall be required to have a permit from the proprietor, head farmer, or overseer, if they are to go beyond the bounds of their commune."

Your Lordships will find further, that this is put under the control of military discipline; the very cultivation of the field is put under its superintendence. By Article 123, " The commandant of each military district, having the general inspection of the cultivation of the district intrusted to him, unites in his own person all the authority necessary for enforcing agriculture : he is responsible for the decay of agriculture in his district, and for the due execution of all or part of the code of agriculture within his district." (Article 124.) " The commandant of each district shall inspect, once in each year, each rural section in the several communes composing his district, and inform himself personally of the due execution of the laws, and of the progress and state

of labour; and make a detailed report of these matters to the President of Haïti." By the 126th and 129th Articles, the commandant of the commune has the chief inspection of the cultivation of the commune. He is to go his round, visit the fields, and examine into all details. (Article 148.) "When an officer or his guards, in their ordinary rounds, arrive upon any plantation, they shall call first for the Proprietor, or in his absence for the chief farmer or manager, and shall inquire if every thing has been orderly. After this formality, they shall inspect the labours personally, to satisfy themselves that these are properly conducted; they shall ascertain that all the labourers are present and at work." Again; your Lordships will find that these labourers are put under the conduct of managers, or *gerans* (Art. 157), or *conducteurs* (Art. 161, 162). Whether I ought to translate this word by drivers, I am not certain; nor do I wish to derive any advantage from the similarity in the description of the persons put over these free labourers, and of those put over slaves, for the purpose of shewing the necessity for that strict inspection once necessary, but now much relaxed, in our West India Colonies. "The duties of the drivers (Article 162) are to cause the work to be done by the gangs intrusted to them, under the directions of the Proprietor, farmer, manager, or overseer." "The drivers (Article 163) are answerable for every neglect of work, for every absence, without leave, of the labourers, and for every act of misconduct, excess, or idleness, committed by the labourers, when they have not reported the same to the proper authorities."

Now, my Lords, on what principle could this law be enacted but this,—that it was necessary, in order to procure the labour of the free inhabitants of St. Domingo in the cultivation of the soil, to put them under the government of persons possessing military authority? and your Lordships will find the extent to which this is carried, by my calling your attention to the consequences which ensued to any one who had not made a contract with some Proprietor for the purpose of labour, or shewing that he has, from some other source, the ostensible means of obtaining his livelihood. By the 174th section it is enacted, that “All persons who are not Proprietors, or Renters, of the land on which they are residing, *or who shall not have made a contract to work with some Proprietor or Renter, shall be reputed vagabonds*, and shall be arrested by the rural police of the section in which they may be found, and carried before the Justice of Peace of the commune, who (Art. 175) shall oblige him to employ himself in agricultural labour; and after that communication, he shall remand him to prison, until he shall have bound himself by a contract, according to the provisions of the law.”

The Justice of Peace shall, indeed (Art. 176), allow the person arrested to make choice of the individual with whom he is to contract to labour; but there is no obligation on any person to take a particular labourer; the farmer is not bound to acquiesce in the selection of the labourer; so that though it may appear at first sight to be in favour of the labourer, it is in reality entirely in favour of the farmer. (Art. 177.) “*If, after eight days of detention, the prisoner shall not have agreed*

*to bind himself to field labour, he shall be sent to the public works, for cleaning the town or district where he may be arrested, and there he shall be employed until he shall consent to bind himself to field labour."*

I will conclude my reference to this Code by stating the 182d Article: "Officers commanding the rural police shall take care that in their respective sections no person shall live in idleness: for this purpose, they have authority to oblige such persons as are not actually employed in labour, to give an account of their occupations; and such persons as cannot prove that they cultivate the soil, or are keepers of cattle-pens, shall be considered as without visible means of procuring their livelihood, and shall be arrested as vagabonds."

If this, then, was a law which it was found necessary to enact in the year 1826, in the island of St. Domingo, which is now, and has been for thirty years, inhabited by free people of colour, your Lordships, I think, can only come to this conclusion, that it was not possible to obtain their steady and continued labour in the field by any provisions less severe and less tyrannical than those in question. The regulations, which I have stated to your Lordships, trench so deeply on every thing like personal freedom, that it was impossible the Government would have enacted this code, or the people have submitted to it, except on grounds of absolute necessity; and the only necessity which can be stated for it, is, that free labourers will not work for hire. This paper has been laid before the House of Commons, and was ordered by them to be printed, on the 25th of May, 1827; it was forwarded by the English Consul resident at Haïti,



I believe there is no doubt of the authenticity of this Code. I know, at one time, it was suggested that it was not authentic; but I apprehend all doubts upon that subject have long ceased, and that there is no doubt of its actual existence. I submit to your Lordships, therefore, that it is quite plain, in point of fact, that there is no instance to be found, up to the present time, of free labour by negroes in the West Indies in the field for any steady and continued purpose. And if that be the case, it seems to me to follow, as a consequence, that your Lordships can never impose this law upon the colonists of Demerara and Berbice, which must deprive them of the means of cultivating their estates. I submit that it is sufficient for me to shew that hitherto no satisfactory instance can be adduced of free negroes working in the cultivation of sugar; and that until some instance is adduced, no reasoning will induce your Lordships to adopt any legislative enactment, or any provision, for the government of these colonies, to the effect of that now proposed. I do submit, therefore, that if it was only a doubtful question whether free labour could be substituted for the labour of slaves, your Lordships would not, in the terms contained in this Order, authorise the slave to obtain his freedom without the consent of his master; that it is enough for me to establish that it is matter of doubt, to prevent your Lordships passing this Order at present

I have stated to your Lordships, that Lord Bathurst was at one time of opinion that free labour could be obtained in the colonies; but his Lordship does not appear to have entertained a very steady opinion upon that subject. By reference to that which I believe to

be an authentic account of what his Lordship delivered in his place in Parliament, it appears that Lord Bathurst stated that he had not been able to ascertain a single instance in which free labour had been made available in the colonies. Your Lordships will find that Lord Bathurst expressed himself to this effect in the year 1824: "that with respect to free labour, he must say, that from all the information he had received upon the subject, he could not point out one instance in which the experiment of an alteration from compulsory to free labour had been fairly tried and succeeded; indeed he knew many instances in which that experiment had failed." I do not offer this opinion of my Lord Bathurst for the purpose of contrasting it with the Order in Council; but because it is important that your Lordships should be informed what was the opinion of so competent a judge, and of one who, from having had the conduct of the Colonial Department for so many years, and having had information from such authentic sources, is entitled to more respect than any other individual I can name.

My Lords, I might advert to many works of great celebrity, all of which concur in the same statement: but I do not refer to them, because I submit that this is a question of fact; and that if your Lordships entertain any doubt as to the possibility, or moral certainty at least, of free labour being attainable, in the event of slave labour being withdrawn, you will enter into that inquiry in the first instance, before you confirm an Order which may be productive of the ruinous effects to which I have adverted.

But, my Lords, it is said, and upon that ground

I apprehend it will be contended that this Order in Council ought to be passed, that, at all events, and supposing it to be true that free labour cannot be found at present, and supposing it to be doubtful whether it can be created in the progress of emancipation, at all events, (with reference to the gentlemen whom I represent,) adequate and sufficient compensation will be given to secure them from all loss. I admit that the resolution of the Houses of Parliament is satisfactory upon that point; for the resolution states that this improvement in the slave population is to take place "with a fair and equitable consideration of the interests of private property." But whatever the resolutions of the two Houses of Parliament may have been, I submit to your Lordships, that this (Trinidad) Order affords no such security. The only security afforded by the Order which is now the subject of your Lordships' consideration is this:—the slave is to pay such sum as two persons, or, in the event of their differing, an umpire shall pronounce to be just. Your Lordships will find that Order in the Parliamentary Papers on the Condition of the Slave Population, 1825, page 134. I think I may undertake to state, that the substance of that part of the Order is, that the slave shall be enabled to demand his freedom, on the payment of such sum as those two persons or the umpire shall decide. The arbitrators to be chosen, one by the Owner of the slave, one by the Protector of Slaves, and the umpire by the Chief Judge of the colony. I will assume, for the argument that I have to submit to your Lordships, that these arbitrators are properly chosen. But the objection rests on the principles on which they are to act. Your Lordships

will see, that the compensation to the master is to be calculated only with respect to the person who is taken away from the estate. But there are two ways in which the estate may be affected ; first, by the actual abstraction of the negro manumitted ; and, secondly, by the effect that his removal may produce on those who remain behind. The effect to be produced on the slave population left behind is not contemplated, at least it is not provided for, by any part of the present Order in Council. My Lords, the enactments and regulations of late years, and the natural consequence of the Abolition Acts, have led to great amelioration in the slave population, (and I know your Lordships will agree with me, that the West Indies are to be looked at in quite a different view from that in which they might have been considered previous to the abolition of the Slave Trade), a great improvement has taken place ; and I may state to your Lordships, with confidence, that the slaves in Demerara and Berbice are treated with the utmost humanity. If I wanted authority for that statement, it would be sufficient for me to refer to the whole course of the insurrection which put the existence of that valuable colony in peril. In all the inquiries that took place afterwards, it never was stated as a ground of complaint, or cause for discontent, that any slave in the colony had been ill treated by his master ; and that was the occasion on which, unquestionably, such statement would have been made, if there had been ground for it : but your Lordships will not find in any of the statements which were made upon that occasion, that any slave justified his conduct on such grounds. I am entitled to say they were well treated also ; on this ground, that your Lordships have

seen the alacrity with which the governing body have adopted every regulation which has been suggested for the improvement of their condition.

It is important, however, for your Lordships to observe, that it is not only the inclination, but the interest of the Owners, that their slaves should be treated well. Not to dwell on this as the means of maintaining their numbers, it is enough for my present purpose to observe, that it is obviously a less expensive mode of management, as it requires much less superintendence and attention, if you can secure the labour of the slave by good treatment, rather than by severity and coercion; while it is equally plain, that the good disposition — the contented disposition of the slave towards the master, is of the last importance towards eliciting from him the whole fruits of his labour. Your Lordships will readily perceive how many instances there are in which a slave may shew a capacity for some particular pursuit or occupation, which, if he will cultivate and improve, must greatly increase his value to his master. But this improvement cannot be compelled; it must be won by kindness and conciliation. Thus, a person, who is at present a mere labourer, may, if kindly used by his master, improve himself in any trade or mechanical employment, and become a useful and efficient artisan; and, in truth, this is the way in which those persons are reared, who carry on the higher sorts of labour on a plantation, and are put at the head of the various departments into which colonial cultivation is divided. But by far the greatest improvement in the condition of the slave, is that which has been effected by the recent introduction of task-work. Instead of

exacting the unceasing labour of the slave as long as his powers of labour will permit, the uniform course, or almost the uniform course now, is to require the performance of so much work as is equal to a fair day's labour; and then to permit the slave to employ his extra hours for his own benefit, and providing those emoluments which are to form the means by which the Government supposes he is to obtain emancipation. But, my Lords, this task-work, which is now so general, that, if it is allowed to be pursued, it will gradually turn the labour of slaves into the labour of free men, must be abandoned, if the slave is to be entitled to claim his freedom at his pleasure. If he is to be permitted to employ the profit which he derives from his extra hours of labour in releasing himself from slavery against his master's will, there will be no remedy left to the master but to put an end to task-work, and to restore the old system of incessant labour for their master's benefit: for it would be too much to expect, if the interests of the Proprietors are to be exposed to so much danger by this proceeding, as they conscientiously believe, that they will, with their eyes open, enable the slaves to obtain that property which will be the means of purchasing their freedom, and bringing ruin on their masters. Your Lordships may, therefore, take for granted, that if Compulsory Manumission is to be enforced upon the Proprietors of estates, they must put an end to that which is to form the foundation of the slaves' emancipation, — they must abolish task-work — they must put an end to that lenity and indulgence, which will thus be made the means of depriving them of their slaves, and of depopulating their estates. The

first consequence, therefore, of this, would be great and immediate injury to the slaves themselves. But its effects would not stop there : it would produce a great deal of ill-humour between the masters and slaves ; and the moment you introduce a difference of interest between master and slave, there is no end to the evils that will follow. The slave at present knows that this system of task-work is for his own interest, and that it will be continued only so long as, by his conduct, he deserves it. The masters, on the other hand, are satisfied that kindness and humanity will always produce most benefit to them, and that it is consistent with their own interest as Proprietors : but the moment there is an end put to this feeling of mutual interest, it is impossible to conceive the extent to which the bad understanding will go.

Observe, too, the operation of this principle of Compulsory Manumission when it begins to work. Of course the value of every slave to his Owner must depend upon his capacity to perform the work allotted to him : a willing and an able slave is a much more valuable article to his master than a slave who is ignorant or not willing to work. Of course there must be a different value put upon those slaves, according to the qualities and dispositions they possess. Your Lordships will see that the consequence of this is, that the more able, active, and willing, the slave is, by so much higher must the value be to the master. But what is the consequence of that ? Why, that the meritorious and industrious must be content to labour for a much longer period of time than the ill-tempered, and disobedient, and dissolute slave, to obtain the means of

purchasing his freedom. The master will say, it is of no consequence to him whether he shall be deprived of the service of an idle slave or not; but for the man whose labour is of real value he must have a greater price, before he parts with him. Is not this, then, a direct premium in favour of idleness and vice, if the drunkards and sluggards are to receive their freedom for a smaller sum than the more temperate and industrious negro? This is a clear objection to the mode in which this measure is proposed to be introduced. Your Lordships will, I am sure, go along with me in this, when you shall understand that the funds which are to form the means of procuring their emancipation, are created by a different species of employment and labour from that which is required upon the master's property; and that though the man may be idle when engaged in the business of his master, there may be no indolence in the employment of his extra hours. The ordinary manner in which the slave employs his leisure time, and turns it to his own advantage, is by rearing poultry or pigs, or in the growing of vegetables, fruit, and articles of that description, for sale. The man, therefore, who may quite disqualify himself by the sulkiness of his disposition, or his aversion to work, from being a beneficial labourer to his master, may make just as much profit to himself in those pursuits, which he carries on for his own benefit, as those who are more valuable to their masters. The first effect, therefore, of this measure, is to create a marked premium in favour of indolence and vice, and to lay the foundation of interminable discontent on the part of honest and industrious slaves, when they find that those who are honest and industrious



are to be condemned to a much longer duration of slavery, than those who, they cannot fail to know, are infinitely less deserving than themselves.

My Lords, I really am not aware of any fallacy or any exaggeration in this argument; and now let us see how it will operate on the *moral* character of the slave. Every man will give more for a slave if he is a sober and industrious man, than if he is an idle and dissolute man; the moral and industrious slave, therefore, has it in his power to decrease his value, and accelerate his emancipation, by changing his conduct; he may be tempted by the great inducement held out to him to render himself less valuable, seeing, as he does, that the price he must pay for liberty is according to his character, and usefulness to his master. It will be, I submit, a direct encouragement to indolence and vice, that the attainment of his liberty is to be earlier in consequence of such circumstances. At all events, supposing this not to operate on individuals who, for a long course of service, and through laborious exertion, have acquired a character upon the estate, still it must operate upon the rising generation. They will see that they derive no benefit from being industrious and virtuous—that in order to purchase their freedom they must prove themselves to be of little value—so that the community, as well as the masters, will be injured by the measure. I will not trouble your Lordships further upon this point; but I submit, that the effect to be produced on the minds of those, who remain on the estate, is of the most important consequence, and that it appears to have been entirely overlooked by those who have proposed this Order.

circumstances, the price assigned may soon far exceed any possible means of a slave to purchase his own freedom; and that will be the period when, if individual benevolence be found insufficient, the State will be called upon to interfere—not by depriving the owner of any part of the estimated value of the slave, but by making up the deficiency between what the slave may be enabled to earn by habits of industry, and what the owner will be estimated to lose by being deprived of the labour of his slave. This principle of Manumission will proceed on presumptive evidence, of the slave having acquired habits of industry which may fit him for an independent existence; while it will secure to the owner that compensation to which it may be found, by experience, as the measure advances in operation, he will be fairly entitled; and it is by experience alone that this can be ascertained.”

Your Lordships will perceive, that the Secretary of State, in writing this despatch, himself contemplated the circumstance of an emancipated slave leaving his master's plantation (which, to say the least of it, is a conclusion well justified by all experience hitherto), and that, “under such circumstances, the price assigned may soon far exceed any possible means of a slave to purchase his own freedom.” But when that time shall come, “if individual benevolence be found insufficient, the State will then be called upon to interfere.” So that it is, at best, but a postponed indemnity: first, that if his estate is ruined by his slaves being reduced to an insufficient number, he is to take the *chance* of public charity, and if public charity fails, he is then to take the *chance* of the legislature passing an act of Par-

liament for that purpose. My Lords, with every respect to the King's Government, by whomsoever administered, it is impossible to say that the assurance of a Secretary of State is that on which a Proprietor ought to be called upon to part with his property. I have no doubt that Lord Bathurst, if he had remained in office, would have exerted himself to procure an act of Parliament to make compensation; but how can I tell that others will be consenting parties to tax their own estates? My Lords, if this country be sincere in desiring to carry slave emanipation into effect, they should begin by an act of Parliament to provide the necessary means for effecting it, by a general assessment on the whole community. I do not ask them to provide any specific fund; but let them pass an act of Parliament that there shall be compensation provided. Do not let any one conceive that a distinction can be drawn as to the compensation a man is to receive, on the ground of his property being a slave. In this country you will not interfere with the meanest possession a man may hold, for any object, however important, without providing a fund for his remuneration. The Houses of Parliament are in the constant habit of requiring, before a bill is passed for touching property, that there shall be a sum secured by deed, to provide, among other matters, a fund for compensating those whose property is taken away: and all we ask is, that when you are dealing with property in the colonies, and perhaps with human life, you will take care that there shall be the same provision made for compensation as is uniformly made in respect of the meanest possession which a man may have in England.

My Lords, I do submit to you, that in this case it is impossible to say that the West India Proprietors are to be treated in any other manner than other persons are, who are in possession of property which is to be surrendered. Permit me to state, in language which I will only read for fear of lessening its force, that "I do maintain that we, having all concurred in the guilt of rearing and fostering the evil, are not to turn round upon the planters and say, '*you* alone shall suffer all the penalty : we determine to get rid of this moral pestilence which infects our character as much as yours, which *we* have as much contributed to propagate as *you* ; but *you*, as spotted lepers, shall be banished from our society, and cast to utter ruin to expiate our common crime.'"<sup>\*</sup> That is the real language of those who say we are not to be entitled to receive compensation, because we are the holders of slaves ; and it is for the benefit of the community that we should part with them. Recollect, my Lords, who it was that introduced this state of slavery into the policy of Great Britain—not the Proprietors of slaves at present, nor those under whom they claim : the institution of slavery was a matter of State — it was fostered by Government — it was made matter of treaty with foreign States. Your Lordships well remember, that by the Assiento treaty, the Government of England engaged to supply the colonies of Spain with slaves for a certain sum, not for the benefit of our colonies, but to their detriment. If, then, there is any injustice in this, it is common to us all ; and to say that those, who may happen to be the unwilling holders of slaves at present, shall be deprived of them

<sup>\*</sup> Speech of Mr. Canning, 19th May, 1826.

without indemnity, would be as unjust, as the slave trade itself was iniquitous. I will not trouble your Lordships with all the occasions on which the slave trade has been sanctioned by the Legislature and Government of England; your Lordships will find them in the petition to the King, presented by Lord Seaford in the year 1824, as well as in some of the pamphlets on the slave question,—I will not enumerate all those instances in which the Government have sanctioned the possession of slaves, as a state of society which ought to be encouraged; nor will I enumerate the instances in which the King's Secretary of State has rebuked the Colonial Legislatures for endeavouring to limit the extent of the slave trade: but I do say this, that it is clearly known that the offence of instituting the slave trade did not lie with the West India Proprietors, but was carried on by England in its best times, and while the public affairs of the country were under the direction of its greatest men. If your Lordships shall think fit to give freedom to the slaves, I trust you will think, at all events, that it cannot be done except under the provisions of an act of Parliament, which shall secure, as fully as the law can do, full and adequate compensation to those, who are to be deprived of the property they have so long been in possession of.

It is not, undoubtedly, for me to suggest any thing with respect to the state of the colonies, if slavery were abolished, except as it may affect the interests of those I represent;—yet thus much I apprehend I may be permitted to say, that if, by changing the nature of the cultivation, you abandon the raising of sugar in the West India Islands, it is impossible to expect that the

cultivation of it will not be taken by other nations. Others will take possession of that trade, who are in possession of slaves, and who will not emancipate them, and who are in the course of supplying their numbers by the slave trade in its most disgusting form ; so that the result for humanity will be, that, instead of having a cultivation by the happiest, best-regulated black population that ever existed, you will institute another in a foreign country, connected with which there will be all the horrors of the middle passage, and all those abominations which roused the feeling of this country against the slave trade. I do submit, therefore, that the most enthusiastic philanthropists have not examined this question with all the attention it deserves, if they think that, without further inquiry, this matter is to be concluded, and emancipation is to be sanctioned by your Lordships. But in arguing against the admission of slaves to the blessings of freedom in their present circumstances, I beg that it may not be supposed there is any intention on the part of those I represent that slavery should be perpetual—quite the reverse; for we join in the language of the House of Commons, that you should prepare them for that state by every possible expedient. When you shall have given them a better sense of their religious duties—when you shall have afforded them more moral instruction—when you shall have encouraged marriage, and raised them in the scale of civilization—when, by the improvements already introduced, they shall have formed a taste for those luxuries of life which may lead to the creation of new wants, (and it is the duty of those who really wish them to be emancipated, to inspire them with new wants, for the

gratification of which they will consent to labour); the time will have arrived, when they will be prepared to receive those civil benefits which the rest of the King's subjects enjoy. But surely it is too much to say, that the whole errors and faults of two centuries are to be redeemed by one single act. Why is there this morbid impatience to run before the progress of improvement? If you give them freedom now, you will plunge them further back into barbarism than they are at this present moment: unless you can satisfy yourselves, that the free negro will betake himself to industrious occupation, by giving him his freedom, you do every thing to defeat those steps he has already taken towards a moral and intellectual improvement; and you deprive him of those advantages which, for twenty years, it has been your object to hold out. My Lords, it would be presumptuous in me to suggest any mode by which this object is to be accelerated. But I think it would be prudent, before you act, to see the effect of the Church Establishment you have now sent out to the West Indies,—to see what is the effect of schools which are now being established; and what alteration the encouragement of marriage will produce on the habits and conduct of the slave. Is it to be said, that the slaves are in such a condition, in such a state of suffering, as to make it necessary to abolish slavery at once? I will venture to say, there will not be easily found a happier population than that in the two colonies I represent. Do not suppose I mean to put the happiness of a slave in competition with that of a free man; but I challenge inquiry, in the fullest manner your Lordships may be pleased to direct, into the treatment and condition of the slaves

in Demerara and Berbice. There can be at least no danger in taking time to deliberate and inquire before you come to a decision. Remember, that if you are wrong, you may not only plunge the West Indies in insurrection, but deprive this country of the most valuable sources of its public strength. It is not for me to enter upon that field of discussion, or into topics of a political nature ; but I have stated grounds which, I hope, have satisfied your Lordships that this Order in Council is not consistent with any one of those resolutions to which Parliament came. My Lords, it is not an amelioration of the condition of the slaves—it is not preparing them for freedom—but it is giving them freedom at once ; and without giving them that moral and intellectual improvement, which makes them capable of using it. It is stopping that progress, which is proceeding with so much regularity and success ; and, instead of being safe for the colonies, it will endanger their peace, by holding out advantages which the negroes cannot attain, and which they will think that they have been unfairly deprived of ; and if this is done, without further provisions than this Order in Council contains, it will be done without any fair or equitable consideration of private interests.

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Mr. Carr, who followed Mr. Adam, said, “ My Lords, my learned friend has so fully stated the case of the Memorialists, that I confess I feel that it perhaps would be better if I left the argument in its present condition. Certainly, my Lords, in consequence of the pains my learned friend has taken with it, I shall com-



press, as much as possible, what I have to offer. I shall call your Lordships' attention only to the most important points of this most important case."

Mr. Carr, in the course of his speech, observed :

" If complete indemnity has not been provided, then, I apprehend, your Lordships, whatever the consequences may be, are bound to refuse your concurrence to those measures till you can devise some mode by which that indemnity shall be provided : therefore, the preliminary question which it is absolutely necessary for those who would wish to enforce this Order in Council to establish, is, that free labour, under the circumstances of the West Indies generally, but more particularly in these colonies of Demerara and Berbice, can, with reference to the cultivation of sugar, the staple commodity, be obtained by this process of replacing the labour of the slave by the labour of the free man,—and if they fail in that, they fail in one great branch of the argument on which this whole correspondence proceeds."

In treating of the resolutions of the House of Commons, Mr. Carr remarked :

" The second resolution is, that ' through a determined and persevering, but at the same time judicious and temperate enforcement of such measure, this House looks forward to a progressive improvement in the character of the slave population, such as may *prepare* them for a participation in those civil rights and privileges which are enjoyed by other classes of his Majesty's subjects.' Your Lordships see here that it is not proposed immediately to admit them into those civil rights and privileges which are enjoyed by the other classes of his Majesty's subjects, but that pre-

My Lords, another way in which discontent would necessarily be generated in the negro's mind, is this— if a negro, having procured a sum of money sufficient, according to his estimate, to procure his freedom, should tender himself to the appraisers to purchase his freedom, and it should happen, as it has done, that the sum should be considered less than his master was entitled to receive, he would have to return to his plantation, to undergo perhaps the same length of servitude which he has already endured, to raise that sum which has been rejected, as too small. Is it possible to conceive that the slave would not return sullen, discontented at this destruction of all his hopes, at the failure of the great object of his desires, at the very moment that he conceived he had attained it? Can such a person be expected to resume his labour with the same alacrity he formerly exhibited, when the object which stimulated him to it is thus indefinitely removed? But it is not the personal qualities of the negroes alone that will affect their situation; other circumstances, over which they have no control or influence, will deeply enter into the consideration of the price which they have to pay. The value of a negro to his master very much depends upon the soil on which he works, and the strength of the slave population employed on the plantation. If the soil be rich, and the number of slaves merely sufficient to cultivate the plantation, the negro is of infinitely more value to his owner than where the soil is poor, and the population larger. But can it be ever reconciled to the mind of a slave, can he ever be made to feel that it is just, that he is to be kept longer in servitude, because he happens to be attached to an estate where, from

causes such as these, he is of more value to his master than his neighbour, who, on another estate, may happen to be superior to him in all those points which usually give value to a labourer? That, simply because he belongs to one possession rather than to another, he is to endure slavery for a longer period than those around him? I am afraid I have troubled your Lordships at too great length upon these minute points; but when your Lordships consider in detail the various modes in which this Order will affect them, you will see that there is hardly a situation in which a slave can be placed which will not be attended with circumstances that must necessarily create disgust. The circumstance, for instance, of his being placed on a coffee plantation instead of a sugar plantation, will produce a very considerable difference in the price the master must receive in payment for his slave, independently of his personal qualities. The difference between the case of a coffee plantation, on which the Proprietor has a capital employed of five or six thousand pounds, and a sugar plantation having only the same number of slaves, but on which a capital of five or six and twenty thousand pounds has been invested, is quite obvious. But can you ever suppose that a negro will feel that it is just that he is to pay an increased sum for his freedom, in consequence of his master being employed in raising sugar, as compared with that which is paid by another man, whose master is employed in the rearing coffee? I submit these statements to your Lordships, for the purpose of shewing that it is utterly impossible to carry this scheme into effect, without producing discontent and want of exertion on the part of the slave, which will evidently

make those that remain on the estate infinitely less valuable to their masters than they were before this law was introduced.

My Lords, there is one other mode in which this measure will operate on the mind of the slave, which I would wish to present to your Lordships. The intrinsic value of a slave, and that which, in his own estimation, he would fix on as his value, is the price that he would fetch if sold in the market. But this is not the measure of his value to his master. Of course, every slave taken off an estate increases the value to the owner of those who remain behind, for he has no means of increasing their numbers. As their number becomes smaller, the value of the remaining negroes becomes greater; and the man who comes later to purchase his freedom is of more importance to his master, than he who procured his freedom before the stock of negroes was reduced. But how shall we reconcile it to the minds of persons in his situation, that a man is to pay more, because the number of his comrades has decreased; that if he comes forward, for instance, while there are two hundred slaves on the estate, he may receive his freedom for 100*l.*, but that if he remains until there are only a hundred and fifty, the price of his freedom may amount to 200*l.*, and so on? How will it be possible to make the justice of this increase intelligible to the mind of the negro? and yet it is quite obvious, that, to afford compensation and indemnity to the owner, he must receive a sum adequate to the value of the slave, with reference to the nature and condition of his property.

My Lords, I put these instances to shew, in the first

place, that this is a measure of great inequality in its execution ; but besides that, it is productive of some injury to the owner, for which no remedy is provided.

There is one method in which the Order in Council may be applied, which I apprehend was not within the intention of the Government, that I think it important to point out. Suppose, my Lords, that persons in this country, who are enthusiastic enough to wish for the emancipation of the slaves, on almost any terms, should resolve to effect it by the purchase of the young female slaves ? Their value is at present inconsiderable, so that moderate subscriptions would afford the means. You are putting it within the power of any persons who choose to combine for those purposes, to put an end to the cultivation of the West Indies by a single blow—by preventing the propagation of slaves. Whether that might be prevented, I will not say ; but on the face of this Order I am unable to find any thing which will provide a remedy for so unjust and injurious a proceeding. But if this measure is to be carried into effect to the full extent in which it will operate, as the slaves are taken off the estate, and the number is decreased, it must come to this, that the gangs who work upon the estate will at last be incapable of cultivating it. No man keeps slaves except for the purpose of making a profit from their productive industry. The owner of a plantation cannot strike off a certain number of slaves, and reduce his establishment, and yet proceed profitably with his cultivation by the rest. What, then, is he to do with his estate, and with his machinery, the erection of which has put him to so great an expence ? In a very short space of time he will be deprived of the

means of commanding productive labour, and the estate will be reduced to ruin. The success, therefore, of this experiment will end in the destruction of the planter, whose property will be rendered altogether worthless, and who will be entitled to call upon the country for an indemnity, as declared by the resolution of the House of Commons, that a fair and equitable compensation shall be made for the injury which the planters may sustain.

Will it be said, however, my Lords, that before the Proprietor can be ruined, before you shall have arrived at that time, emancipation will have ceased, from the incapacity of the slave to raise the necessary means of purchasing his freedom? If this answer shall be given, it will be an admission that the measure is impracticable, and ought never to be tried. But before that time does come, when the slave cannot raise enough to purchase his freedom, to what will you have reduced the planters? To the lowest possible state of distress; you will have deprived them of a large proportion of their most effective labourers, and rendered the services of the rest of no comparative value; in fact, you will have done little less in substance than taking away the whole.

But, my Lords, can it be said that this is the extent of the mischief of this experiment, and that having arrived at that stage, it can then be put a stop to? I am quite sure, that if the King's Government have calculated on any such grounds as these, they cannot have taken into consideration all the circumstances of this important measure. They cannot have attended to the nature and disposition of the negro population, who are more

prone to suspicion, more easily excited, and less easily satisfied, than any other class of men who live upon the face of the earth. We have that shewn on the papers before your Lordships, in the statement of the late Governor of Demerara, as to the cause of their insurrection, that it arose from their believing that the King of England had granted them their freedom, and that the planters had interfered to prevent their receiving the benefit of the grant. Sir Benjamin D'Urban, also, who had taken pains to inquire, and has great experience on the subject, states, that he is satisfied there is no state of mind so dangerous, as it respects the negroes, as that of continued and undefined expectation. How injurious, then, in its effects, would it be to hold out to them, that every negro shall be entitled to obtain his freedom by his own industry; and when he seeks the performance of this promise, to state to him, that he must also give compensation to the master for the capital he has embarked upon his estate, since the taking him away from the plantation will disable his master from cultivating it to advantage. If you do that, the slave will think he has been deceived and cheated by his master, or that the Government of the country is not keeping faith with him; when he sees the right of the slave to purchase his freedom proclaimed by the authority of Government, but that the means of attaining it are put entirely out of his reach. How can you explain to an ignorant African that this has been the consequence of the successful operation of the measure itself? When he comes to take advantage of that which you have promised him, how can you tell him that he has been too

late ; that he is not now in a situation, and never can be in a situation, to avail himself of the benefit intended for him ?

But, my Lords, I do not impute to this Government the recommendation of a measure which must obviously defeat its own execution. I believe that they suppose that the measure is to be executed, when it gets to this advanced stage, through the means of compensation provided from other sources. The case put forward by the King's Government is this,—supposing that you prove that free labour is not to be had, a compensation is provided. If, my Lords, his Majesty's Government will seriously and deliberately perform that undertaking, I am not here to object to the passing of this Order in Council ; but we have only the assurance of the Secretary of State, that at a particular time the period will have arrived, when it will be for the House of Commons to provide such compensation. I am by no means clear, however, that the Resolution of the House of Commons does hold out a perfect protection to private property ; I am disposed to think that it rather points to a postponement of the measure, till compensation shall be unnecessary ; but even if it does, when the effect of emancipation must be a tax on the people of this country to the extent of millions, can we rely with reasonable certainty that this Resolution will be confirmed ? If it be indeed intended, that a fair and equitable consideration of private property shall be extended to this case, let compensation be at once provided ; for no one can deny, that if the two Houses of Parliament, when they passed these Resolutions, intended that emancipation should be introduced forth-



with, they were bound to take care, not only that adequate, but that undoubted, compensation was previously provided. But I beg to call your Lordships' attention to the only authority we have for saying that any compensation will be provided by Parliament, at least in a specific form, and to the circumstances on which it is to depend. This is a despatch of my Lord Bathurst's, of the 25th of February, 1826. It is in that despatch, in which the Secretary of State states to the Court of Policy, that in case they will not pass the Order, he shall have no alternative but to recommend to his Majesty to pass an Order in Council. "If then (Lord Bathurst says), as many contend, and as will probably in some places turn out to be the case, the slaves, who have purchased their freedom, shall voluntarily work, either for their own master or some other, a system of free labour will be gradually introduced, which, although it may not at first operate to reduce the price, will prevent any great increase in successive valuations." That, my Lords, is mere speculation, founded on the principles I have stated, which are, I submit, by no means a justifiable ground for that conclusion. "But if, (Lord Bathurst continues) in the process of time, it should be unfortunately found that the slaves thus manumitted altogether abandon their owners, and refuse to work as free persons, the owner, not having the means, by reason of the Abolition Act, to supply the loss of his slaves, and not being able to engage any free labourer for his sugar plantations, the price which must then be assigned to the loss of each slave must have a direct reference to that state in which the plantation will be placed by the progressive reduction of the means of cultivating it. Under such

participation is necessary : that implies probation, — a length of time, to try whether all those other ameliorating circumstances, and those provisions which have been enacted by the different Colonial Assemblies, shall have prepared them for a gradual participation in the rights of freemen. This resolution, my Lords, your Lordships see, is in perfect unison with all that these gentlemen ask. They themselves not only do not dissent from this, — they not only go along with this resolution, — but they go before it. They are perfectly willing, as they state in their Memorial, and they feel themselves bound, to accelerate every measure which can be proposed, with this single exception, by the enactments of their Legislature, and to enforce all those improvements which have been suggested : their views coincide with the very language of this second resolution of the House of Commons. They are willing to promote all that progressive improvement in the character of the slave population, which may prepare them for a participation in those civil rights and privileges which are enjoyed by other classes of his Majesty's subjects. But it is not to be said that they are going against this resolution, because, in the instance of Compulsory Emancipation, without the consent of the master, they conceive that this precipitate measure would do much more harm than good, and delay that which Parliament and themselves have in view. Therefore, as far as we can see here, surely that despatch of February 1826 is not only not supported by those resolutions, but is in express contradiction to them ; for what is the object of Lord Bathurst's despatch of February 1826 ? It is not to *prepare* the slaves gradually for a participation

in the blessing of liberty, but it is *at once to admit* them, by causing a general rush of those who may suppose that by some means they shall be able to obtain their freedom. Perhaps, if it depended upon this second resolution alone, I should say, there is nothing upon which your Lordships can presume that the present measure was then intended. But when I look to the *third* resolution,—if there was any ambiguity or doubt in the construction of the two former, that ambiguity and doubt is removed by that third resolution, to which I will call your Lordships' attention: 'That this House is anxious, for the accomplishment of this purpose, at the earliest period that shall be compatible with the well-being of the slaves,'—the very language of this Memorial,—the very language which they have put into their mouths,—'with the safety of the colonies, and with a *fair and equitable consideration* of the interests of *private property*.' Therefore, my Lords, you see, even if the two former resolutions had been doubtful, you have here the ground stated on which the House of Commons is willing to proceed:—that this measure shall never be carried into effect precipitately,—that it shall not be carried into effect until it is proved to be for the benefit of the slaves themselves, and consistent with the safety of the colonies and the interests of private property.

"My Lords, if at this time, and under the circumstances stated by my learned friend Mr. Adam, you can say you have sufficient evidence before you that this can be done consistently, either with the well-being of the slaves themselves, with the safety of the colonies, or with a fair and equitable consideration of the inte-

rests of private property,—I have nothing more to say ; but I deny both these propositions. We have shewn your Lordships that it cannot be consistent with the well-being of the slaves themselves ; for, looking to the effects of those emancipations which have taken place in other colonies, they themselves furnish evidence of that.”

On the saving of money by slaves, to purchase their freedom, Mr. Carr observed, —

“ My Lords, it is said, also, that the fact of slaves saving money shews that they are persons of laudable and proper dispositions, — that they are persons of the most respectable kind ; and that it furnishes the strongest evidence your Lordships can have of their conduct afterwards. My Lords, I should say, that the argument is precisely the other way ; for if, from that stimulus of obtaining their freedom, they have saved every farthing they could, and have abstained from every indulgence and every habit of expence, and every thing beyond the mere animal sustenance they required, is it likely that those habits will or will not continue ? I should say, that the very same circumstances which have led a man to save before, will have accustomed him to such a habit of saving, that he afterwards would have no wish whatsoever for the wants of greater civilization ; and which wants of greater civilization, it is admitted on all hands, can alone prove a sufficient motive for his using that exertion after he becomes free. So far from this being a criterion and test, that the saving habits and industrious habits which have enabled him to procure his discharge are likely afterwards to be the cause of his working steadily in a sugar planta-

tion, which is the question before your Lordships,—I say, the very habits to which he will have been accustomed will themselves destroy that very desire which alone can stimulate him, in that climate, to any exertion.”

Mr. Carr continued,—“ If that be so, my Lords, you have nothing else but the other branch of the alternative, that you are to provide a *complete indemnity*. To speak to your Lordships now, at this time of day, with respect to the nature of this property, or to harbour a single thought that the right of those I represent can be disputed, would be to take up your Lordships’ time in vain. You know, that however laudable and humane the emancipation of the slaves may be, you are bound to provide complete indemnity for their Owners, and to satisfy them that their property is as much confirmed to them as the property which your Lordships can possess from your own exertions, or inherit from your ancestors, — it is admitted, in this very despatch ; and I do not trouble your Lordships with the former part of the correspondence, because I think the whole may be summed up in the words of the despatch of February 1826. It is there assumed, that the substitution of free labour for slave labour *cannot* be obtained without complete compensation being provided for every possible loss which the Proprietors can suffer. We have shewn your Lordships, and it is unnecessary for me to go over that part again — we have shewn your Lordships, that there is a vast variety of circumstances, which may affect the character and exertions of the slave, consequent on his emancipation, which are not provided for at all ; — we say, that the very plan which is laid

down cannot possibly be carried into effect without the total ruin of the estate; — we say, if you take one labourer from the estate, the loss of that one may be fairly arranged between the Proprietor and the slave; but if you proceed to any great number which may affect the *cultivation* of the estate, it is *impossible* for any *correct criterion* to be affixed. How is it known what shall be the *incidental* losses to be sustained, and the ultimate loss, when the cultivation of this property must *entirely stop*? The number of slaves is adapted to each estate: no owner has more than he desires to have, and feels it his interest to have. While importation was permitted, this measure would be innoxious; but unless you can shew that you can substitute free labour for the labour of those whom you displace, it is quite impossible that any ratio of value you can put on the different number of slaves as they are emancipated will compensate the Owner for that which will ultimately prove the *total loss* of the estate; for, after a certain time, this cannot go on. It will be impossible to say what is the value of an estate. The value of estates, I understand, *has* been very greatly diminished. The very agitation of these questions *has* done infinite mischief to the Proprietors of the plantations in those countries; and if this measure be a measure which has been resisted by this colony, it has been resisted with the greatest propriety, but with every wish to do all they can, consistently with their own interest, to further the views of Government. If this be pressed upon them, they feel that it is difficult to look at the end. It is impossible not to feel, that if a measure of this kind be pressed upon them, — that is, Compulsory Emancipation without the will and

without the consent of the master;— if it proceeds, that you have no alternative but to shew, either that the labour of the slaves can be replaced by free labour, or that you are prepared to prove that provision is made for compensation, in any given instance.”

To shew Lord Bathurst’s early opinion on the resolutions of the House of Commons, Mr. Carr stated, —

“ In Lord Bathurst’s despatch of the 9th of July, 1823, two months *after* the resolutions of the House of Commons which I detailed to your Lordships, after making a variety of propositions for the amelioration of the condition of those slaves — for ameliorating every part of their condition—all of which have been ultimately assented to, or respecting which there will be no great difficulty, — it proceeds to say, that different Orders shall pass — that permanent Commissioners shall be appointed, who (on application being made by or on behalf of any slave, *with his master’s consent*) should ascertain the valuation; so that it is quite clear this was never in the contemplation of Government at the time, because my Lord Bathurst, you find in his despatch of the 9th of July, 1823, states, that the whole of the propositions which he sent out for the acceptance of the colonies shall be *with the master’s consent*; that they shall not be carried, as now proposed, *against his consent*, by this compulsory mode of emancipating slaves: but this despatch contains a great number of particulars ending with this, that whatever is done shall have the master’s consent. Your Lordships see, therefore, that this measure can derive no support or assistance whatever from the previous resolutions of the House of Commons. This is evidently an after-measure, the measure is so totally inconsistent with those resolu

tions, — at all events, it is not founded upon them ; for, on the contrary, it is, in some respects, the very reverse of those resolutions. Those resolutions, I apprehend, do not, in the least, justify the violent and precipitate measure your Lordships are called upon to enforce. I have shewn your Lordships already some of the consequences, and have endeavoured to prove that you cannot carry this measure into effect without a loss *so great* to the proprietor as *no* compensation *can* make good, and certainly none that is here provided for — *no* compensation, I say, which *has* been offered, and, I think, none which *can* be offered, as long as slave labour cannot be replaced by the labour of free men.”

Of the effect of the Order in Council on mortgagees, Mr. Carr observed, —

“ In another respect, my Lords, this Order would very much affect the interests of all whose property is under mortgage : it would affect the interest of the mortgagee, because your Lordships know that by law he has not only the security of the lands, but the security of the slaves upon them. If, therefore, so much is paid to the mortgagor, as it is proposed, it will weaken the security of the mortgagee ; if, on the other hand, it is paid to the mortgagee, it is contrary to the contract between him and the mortgagor, who contemplated no such measure.”

On the probable effect on the slave of working to obtain freedom, Mr. Carr remarked, —

“ Now I think I have shewn to your Lordships that the foundation of the measure fails ; namely, that of instituting habits of industry among these slaves. It appears to me that, even in the case of the slave himself, the



result is not only very doubtful, but that the probability would be the other way; that, having devoted every thing he has to the great purpose of acquiring freedom, this will have generated habits of sparing those indulgences which alone are the motive for work in those hot countries, and which are the motive for work here: for it is well known, that those persons who, as my learned friend states, by a short period of labour can acquire what their habits of life require, will not work on the other days to lay up money; but so small a portion of their time being required, produces only idleness. It is not necessary, however, for your Lordships to look at the *theory*; you have the *most perfect evidence* of the fact from almost every one of the colonies; and if your Lordships see this has been the general course in those colonies, *a fortiori*, it must be in this colony of Demerara, where, in proportion to the population, the fertility and strength of the soil is so much greater than in any of the islands, and the means of acquiring food so much easier."

On the price of free labour and compensation, Mr. Carr said, —

" Your Lordships have another question, not only whether free labour can be procured, but whether you can procure it at a price which will enable the Proprietor of an estate to carry on the cultivation of it with profit; for unless you shew that, you shew nothing at all. We have shewn that you cannot get it at any rate, by any art or persuasion; that, in the language of the Council of St. Vincent, they cannot be persuaded, by any means whatever, to return to agricultural labour: therefore, I should say, that

unless your Lordships can clearly see your way,—if, on the other hand, you not only cannot clearly see that you can provide compensation for that loss which your measure must inevitably cause to the proprietor of that property—which, I say, is as much sanctioned and as much confirmed to them by the operation of law as any property whatever,—that unless you can do that, and see your way clearly, you ought at least to pause; for, supposing that the consequences which I have now pointed out to your Lordships do not all of them ensue, yet still, unless you, *a priori*, shew that what you propose will not only not have those consequences, but will induce that which is the foundation of the whole argument—namely, the creation of free labour on the one hand, or compensation on the other,—you ought at least to pause, and give opportunities for more extensive inquiry; for your Lordships will not precipitately rush into a measure, the end of which you cannot *foresee*,—you will not rush into this measure without clearly seeing your way, and seeing the consequences; for, I say, the only grounds on which this Order has been justified are all contradicted by the evidence which has been adduced before your Lordships. After the evidence which has been presented to you, unless you can shew that a great change in the manners and habits of those negroes has since taken place, you are bound by the conclusion, that their future conduct will assimilate with their past; and you are bound by the inevitable conclusion, that, instead of obtaining this free labour, you will, by enforcing this manumitting clause against the masters, make a nation such as is now found in the wilds of Africa—a nation who will do nothing

but provide for the physical wants of nature—a population passing their time in idleness, to the utter ruin of the colony.”

In defending the conduct of the Memorialists, Mr. Carr observed,—

“ We deny that we are the advocates for perpetual slavery: we say, on the other hand, that we are the *best* friends of the slaves; that we are attentive to their *practical* benefit—that benefit which, in respect to all the evidence, I have shewn is *alone* attainable; and that as we are so, we are not now to suffer any censure for asking your Lordships to pause before you recommend this measure, when we say that your pausing is as much for the benefit of those persons themselves as for our own safety.”

Towards the conclusion of Mr. Carr’s speech, he said,—

“ Unless you can shew that the measure will be sure to work well as *to free labour*, you must shew that you are giving complete indemnity, at the expence of *this nation*; for, as to supposing that can be given by *the mode here pointed out*, that is *vain*; unless you can shew that this Order will work well, indemnity *must* be provided: *even Parliament* cannot *justly* take away a man’s property without it. I admit that Parliament has the *power*; but the question is, what is just? We admit the power, not of your Lordships, but of Parliament; but we dispute the justice of this: we say, that with the evidence which has been adduced, you can come to only one conclusion, namely, that those persons, unless a very great alteration of their habits should take place, will not be induced to work.”

# APPENDIX.

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## No. I.

TO THE  
KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY  
IN COUNCIL;

*THE HUMBLE PETITION of the several  
Persons whose Names are hereunto subscribed—*

SHEWETH,

THAT your Petitioners are respectively Owners and Proprietors of, or Mortgagees and Creditors upon, plantations and slaves, to a very great extent, in your Majesty's colonies of Demerara and Berbice.

That by a despatch, bearing date the 25th day of February, 1826, addressed by the Right Honourable Earl Bathurst, one of your Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, having the department of the colonies, to Major-General Sir Benjamin D'Urban, K. C. B., Lieutenant-Governor of the said colony of Demerara, and printed by order of the House of Commons; your Petitioners observe, that it has been proposed by the Earl Bathurst to the Court of Policy of Demerara, that that Court should enact a law giving to the slave

population of that colony the right to purchase their freedom, without the previous consent of their masters, on certain conditions set forth in the despatch; and that it has been expressly declared by his Lordship, that in the event of the Court of Policy declining to comply, his Lordship would submit to your Majesty the expediency of enacting such a law by your Majesty's royal authority.

That your Petitioners have very recently received information that the Court of Policy in Demerara have felt themselves compelled, by a sense of duty to their fellow-colonists, to decline complying with the injunctions contained in the despatch of Earl Bathurst; and your Petitioners are consequently led to apprehend that your Majesty will be humbly advised, by Orders in Council, to carry into effect the measure proposed to the Court of Policy in Demerara, and to extend the same to the adjoining colony of Berbice.

That your Petitioners beg permission to assure your Majesty, with the utmost sincerity, that there is no class of your Majesty's subjects more desirous than your Petitioners to enable the slaves to acquire their freedom on terms compatible with the well-being of the slaves themselves, the safety of the colonies, and a fair and equitable consideration of the interests of private property; but your Petitioners, at the same time, beg leave humbly to represent to your Majesty, that after the most anxious consideration of the subject, they are impressed with a deep conviction, that the measure, as proposed by Earl Bathurst, is incompatible with the well-being of the slaves themselves, with the safety of the colonies, and with a fair and equitable consideration of the interests of private property.

Your Petitioners, therefore, humbly pray, that your Majesty will be graciously pleased not to issue any Order in Council, enabling the slave population of Demerara or Berbice to obtain their freedom without the consent of their Owners, without your Petitioners being first heard in defence of your Petitioners' rights and interests, before your Majesty in Council. And that your Majesty will be further graciously pleased to permit your Petitioners to be previously heard by their Counsel in that behalf.

J. BLAIR,  
WM. KING,  
EDW. CUST,  
WILLIAM FRASER,  
AND. CHRIST. BOODE,  
PHILIP COMBAULD,  
PHILIP M. LUCAS,  
ALEX. HALL,  
HENRY MEERTENS,  
N. S. CHAUNCY,  
JOHN KINGSTON,  
COLIN CAMPBELL,  
C. MACRAE,  
JOHN M'GAREL,  
JOHN FULLARTON,  
J. A. RUCKER,  
CHARLES BROOKE,  
W. J. THORNTON,  
DONALD MACKAY,  
JOHN BOVELL,  
ALEX. CRUIKSHANK,  
GAVIN FULLARTON,

DONALD M'DONALD,  
ROBERT EDMONSTONE,  
A. M'DONALD,  
JOHN GORDON,  
JOS. TIMPERON,  
BOB. PULSFORD,  
ELLIS J. TROUGHTON,  
JAMES WEDDERBURN,  
ALEX. SETON,  
H. HYNDMAN,  
DAVID CORNFOT,  
ROBERT WESTLEY HALL,  
CHARLES M'GAREL,  
HENRY SMITHSON,  
JAMES CAVAN,  
ÆNEAS BARKLY,  
JAS. E. BAILLIE,  
JOHN INNES,  
JAS. WM. DUNKIN,  
WM. LEACH,  
CLAUD NEILSON,  
J. B. SMITH,

THO. NAGHTEN,	HENRY DAVIDSON,
JOHN DANIEL,	W. ALVES,
WM. PULSFORD,	HENRY DYETT,
TULLY HIGGINS,	WILL. MAX. ALEXANDER,
DAVID HALL,	ROB. BELL,
R. W. HALL DARE,	HENRY SEYMOUR,
SPENCER MACKAY,	RUSSELL ELLICE,
A. COLVILE,	GEORGE FORSYTH,
HUGH BARKLY,	B. P. LESPINASSE,
ROB. LANG,	JOHN MURRAY.
R. C. DOWNER,	

*London, 13th November, 1826.*

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## No. II.

SIR,

*Downing Street, 1st December, 1826.*

I AM directed by Lord Bathurst to inform you, that if you, and the gentlemen who accompanied you in your interview with his Lordship, have any representations to make, on the part of the Planters and Mortgagees of Demerara and Berbice, against the provisions for the progress of manumission, as at present in operation in Trinidad, St. Lucie, and the Cape of Good Hope, being enforced in Demerara and Berbice, you will either communicate them to the Colonial Department, or submit them in a Memorial to his Majesty in Council.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

R. W. HORTON.

JOHN INNES, Esq.

## No. III.

TO THE  
KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY  
IN COUNCIL;

*THE HUMBLE MEMORIAL of the several  
Persons whose Names are hereunto subscribed—*

SHEWETH,

THAT your Memorialists are Proprietors or Mortgagees of plantations and slaves, to a very great amount, in the colonies of Demerara and Berbice, who feel themselves compelled to appeal to your Majesty for the protection of their property from the consequences of measures which they are led to suppose are about to be adopted in those colonies.

That your Memorialists are anxious to seize the very first moment to assure your Majesty, that there is no class of men more desirous, or who have so direct an interest, to improve the condition and increase the comforts of their slaves; and that, in the statement which they humbly propose to submit to your Majesty in Council, they are influenced, in no small degree, by a sincere and deep conviction that the measures about to be discussed would be found not less injurious to the slaves than ruinous to their masters.



Your Memorialists beg leave to recall to your Majesty's recollection, that the House of Commons, on the 15th day of May, 1823, came to resolutions to the following effect : —

*First*—That it is expedient to adopt effectual and decisive measures for ameliorating the condition of the slave population in his Majesty's colonies.

*Second*—That through a determined and persevering, but at the same time judicious and temperate, enforcement of such measures, this House looks forward to a progressive improvement in the character of the slave population, such as may prepare them for a participation in those civil rights and privileges which are enjoyed by other classes of his Majesty's subjects.

*Third*—That this House is anxious for the accomplishment of this purpose, at the earliest period that shall be compatible with the well-being of the slaves themselves, with the safety of the colonies, and with a fair and equitable consideration of the interests of private property.

That similar resolutions were afterwards adopted in the House of Lords on the 7th day of March, 1826.

That, subsequent to the passing of the resolutions of the House of Commons, certain regulations have been made, by order of your Majesty in Council, with reference to the slave population of the colonies of Trinidad, St. Lucie, and the Cape of Good Hope. These regulations have been recommended to the Court of Policy in Demerara, to which body, according to the practice of the constitution of that colony, the power of enacting laws for its government has hitherto been supposed to belong. That the Court of Policy had evinced the

most anxious desire to act up to the principle declared by the two Houses of Parliament, and has adopted, to an extent exceeding what the members could entirely reconcile to those principles, or to a rigid sense of their own duty, many of the regulations that had been submitted to them by your Majesty's Secretary of State; and they have had in consequence the great satisfaction of receiving your Majesty's approbation for the zeal and assiduity manifested by them in giving effect to your royal intentions and to the wishes of Parliament, in favour of the slave population.

That to one of the regulations, however, which authorises a slave to purchase his freedom without the concurrence of his master, and which is popularly called Compulsory Manumission, the Court of Policy, after the most mature and calm consideration, was unable to accede. They stated to your Majesty's Government the grounds of their objections; but with so little effect, that Earl Bathurst, one of your Majesty's Secretaries of State, in his despatch to the Lieut.-Governor of Demerara of the 25th of February, 1826, declared that, should the Court of Policy continue to decline adopting this regulation of Compulsory Manumission, his Lordship would humbly submit to your Majesty the expediency of enacting it by direct royal authority.

That notwithstanding their great desire to avoid such an extremity, and to act in concurrence with the wishes of your Majesty's Government, the Court of Policy, bound by what they considered the sacred obligation of their oath, to forward the interests of the colony according to their conscience, felt themselves unwillingly compelled still to refuse their consent to the proposed

regulation. They have accordingly declined to adopt it: and your Memorialists are therefore led to expect as a consequence, that your Majesty will be advised to issue an Order in Council, in conformity with Lord Bathurst's despatch, to enact Compulsory Manumission as the law of the colonies of Demerara and Berbice.

That your Memorialists are so deeply impressed with the conviction, that the Court of Policy could not have enacted Compulsory Manumission consistently with the well-being of the slaves themselves, with the safety of the colonies, and a fair and equitable consideration of the interests of private property,—that they felt they would be wanting in common regard to their rights and property, and deserting their duty to their families, if they did not approach your Majesty with the humble and respectful, but most earnest representations of the injurious consequences inseparable from Compulsory Manumission in the present state of the negro population.

That the name and condition of slavery is so repugnant to the feelings of Englishmen, that your Memorialists are well aware that while they are simply pointing out the inefficacy and dangers of the proposed regulation, and its utter inconsistency with the course pointed out by the resolutions of the two Houses of Parliament,—while they are merely defending their own acknowledged property from ruin,—they are exposing themselves to the imputation, with some persons, of desiring to prolong, nay, to perpetuate, the state of slavery. They feel the most perfect conviction that no such impression can be made, even for a moment, on the candour and discernment of your Majesty, or your

Advisers in Council. They are bold to assert before your Majesty, that slavery is as repugnant to their feelings as to those of any other class of your Majesty's subjects ; they are as anxious as the most clamorous advocate for Compulsory Emancipation can be, for the accomplishment of such a progressive improvement in the character of the slave population as may fit them for a participation in the rights and privileges which they enjoy themselves ; and they protest, before your Majesty and their fellow-subjects, against the injustice and the folly of imputing to them a desire to prolong a state of society that has already subjected them to serious injury and unmerited obloquy, and which they must rejoice more to see extinguished than any other description of persons, as soon as it can be done with safety to the State, with advantage to the negroes, and without making your Memorialists greater sufferers than the rest of their fellow-subjects, whose share in rearing the system has been as great as that of your Memorialists.

That your Memorialists will not waste one moment in advancing arguments to establish their right of property in their slaves. To suppose it could be doubted, would be to bring into question the title to all property whatever. It rests on the very same foundation with every other description of property known to the law ; it has been as solemnly recognised by Acts of the Legislature, and by the decisions of British Courts of Justice. As little will your Memorialists enlarge upon that proud distinction of this happy country (perhaps the greatest cause of its prosperity)—the sacred and inviolable respect at all times shewn to private property. To offer observations on such a subject to your Majesty

in Council, would be as improper as superfluous. That the system proposed to be introduced does trench upon the right of property, and may even bring its existence into peril, your Memorialists conceive is undeniable. That it must influence, to the greatest extent, the moral condition of the negroes, and may perhaps endanger the lives and safety of every white inhabitant of Demerara and Berbice, is equally apparent. These high and weighty interests, then, being confessedly involved in Compulsory Manumission, your Memorialists, if they were incapable of pointing out any very serious objections to the principle or detail of the measures, would still, in accordance with justice and the practice in this country, be entitled to claim a deliberate investigation, to ascertain the real extent to which they might be prejudiced, before an absolute enactment should deprive them of the means of ample redress. But your Memorialists are, unhappily, not in the situation of those who solicit investigation for the purpose of discovering how their property is likely to be affected; on the contrary, they are apprehensive that they shall be unable to include even the more obvious objections to this measure in the compass of a Memorial.

That your Memorialists conceive, that, although they are not entitled to consider the resolutions of the two Houses of Parliament as laying down a law which is to govern your Majesty's discretion on this momentous subject, they may, without the fear of error, rely upon them as containing those principles upon which the future situation of the slave population should be regulated. Those resolutions bespeak, at every step, careful previous inquiry, and examination into the consequences

of any measure before it is adopted ; they consider the improvement in the moral character of the slave as a necessary preliminary to his participation in the rights and obligations of freemen ; and they establish as a condition, that the safety of the public, and the indemnity of individuals, shall be secured and rendered certain before the measure is carried into execution.

That your Memorialists submit to your Majesty, that Compulsory Manumission at this time, and in the present state of civilization of the negroes, whether in freedom or slavery, is directly at variance with these wise and prudent maxims, and with that no less sound opinion, that " the condition of the slave is only to be improved through the medium of his master."

That so far from advancing the time when the slave may be beneficially admitted to a participation in the rights of freemen, it will retard it more than any measure that can be pointed out ; that it will demoralize the slave, impair the industry, and destroy the prosperity of the colonies (if it does not endanger their actual safety), while it will be ruinous to the individuals who have embarked their property in Demerara and Berbice, on the faith of the existing laws, sanctioned by the solemnity of treaties.

That your Memorialists will, in the first place, request the attention of your Majesty to the manner in which this regulation would operate upon the slaves themselves.

That it appears, from the most accurate information that can be obtained upon the subject, (and which your Memorialists presume is in possession of your Majesty's

Government, but which they are prepared to establish), that the free negroes in the West Indies are so averse to labour in the field, that they cannot be induced to work for hire, or to carry on the cultivation of the country in a regular and effectual manner. That from the fertility of the soil in Demerara and Berbice, subsistence is procured by a very small portion of labour; and having hardly any other wants to supply, no incentive would exist sufficient to overcome their natural dislike to labour, so that they would pass the remainder of their time in indolence and dissipation; and instead of being useful members of the community, they would be at once a burden to the public, and depraved and unhappy in themselves. In the present condition, therefore, of the free negroes in the West Indies, to increase their numbers is neither desirable for the public or themselves; and so far from being a step towards that improvement in the character of the black population which was considered by the two Houses of Parliament as the great object to be attained, it opposes an obvious impediment to their progress in civilization and refinement. These great ends of all human exertion are only to be attained by the steady exercise of the powers and faculties of the mind, and by habits of regular industry. It is against the course of all experience to suppose, that these exertions will be made by any class of men without their having in view some object to compensate them; but while the acquisition of bare subsistence is almost the utmost limit of the negro's wishes, it is vain to expect that he will exert himself for more; and the only mode by which he can be roused to these exertions,

which are essential to his advancement in civilization, is the creation of new wants and new desires, for the attainment of which he will consent to labour.

To this object, therefore,—to his moral, intellectual, and religious improvement,—your Memorialists submit, the attention of your Majesty's Government ought to be directed. To raise the negro in the scale of human beings—to elevate him in his own opinion—to excite his dormant industry for the acquirement of property, and the benefits that flow from it, ought to be their aim. When the desire of further enjoyments shall have sprung up,—when the sense of other wants shall have been created in the negro's mind, and for the sake of their attainment he shall have been induced to labour for reward,—when, if the slave received his freedom, he would labour for himself and for the public, instead of abandoning himself to indolence and sloth,—when, in fact, his real and artificial wants shall have grown upon him to an extent that can be gratified only by the fruits of unremitting industry, and that such wants have become so deeply rooted, that a disappointment in the indulgence of any of them would operate more painfully than the exertions of labour,—then, and not till then, the time will have arrived when the gradual emancipation of the slave population in the West Indies may be safely urged, without injury to the slaves, with safety to the state, and without injustice to the interests of private property.

That your Memorialists are as much impressed as any class of your Majesty's subjects can be, with the great advantages that would be derived to them, and to their property, if they could obtain its cultivation by



the labour of *freemen* working for hire ; but they beg leave to state their most unqualified opinion, founded upon the *actual condition* of the colonies, that such an end is wholly unattainable in the present condition of the black population in the West Indies. The colonies of Demerara and Berbice do not afford one instance of a slave made free, or of a free-born negro, ever having worked as a hired labourer in the cultivation of the soil.

While St. Domingo was cultivated by the labour of slaves, it produced nearly as much sugar as all the British West India islands put together : for the last thirty years it has been cultivated by free negroes, and does not regularly raise sufficient for the supply of its own population. This extraordinary defalcation in its produce is occasioned by the aversion of the inhabitants to work,—and to remedy the grievance, and restore the sinking cultivation of that country, a law has been recently promulgated, obliging the free population to Compulsory Labour, which is enforced by military interposition. Your Memorialists humbly submit, that a more conclusive instance, or one upon a larger scale, of the impossibility of procuring the cultivation of land in the West Indies by the labour of free negroes, in the present condition of that class of the population, can hardly be conceived.

That your Memorialists beg leave to state, that a system of *task-work* has recently been introduced into the routine of colonial cultivation, with advantage to the master, and great benefit to the slave. By this practice, the necessity for constant superintendence has been removed : the slave, having a specific task assigned

to him, moderate in its amount, and adjusted to the average quantity of daily labour performed in the colony, discharges it with cheerfulness and satisfaction. In process of time, and by degrees, if this system is continued and extended, his habits may assimilate to those of the voluntary labourer.

That experience has shewn that this incitement to assiduity enables him to get through his day's work at an earlier hour than under the former practice ; and after the slave's allotted task is completed, he has the remaining hours of the day at his own disposal, during which he is encouraged by his master in industrious occupation, for his own private advantage.

That this mode of "task-work," to be beneficial to the slaves, cannot be commanded or enforced by any law, or by any other authority than that of the master. It proceeds, on his part, both from the humane spirit progressively prevailing in the colonies, and from a feeling of self-interest, prompting him to save the trouble and expense of personal superintendence ; and he is enabled to carry it into execution solely by his negroes being impressed with the conviction that he can discontinue it at pleasure.

That the law prescribes that the slave shall labour until six o'clock in the evening, for the benefit of his master. The moment that the interests of the two are separated, and the master discovers that the slave's earnings, acquired after his task is finished, are to be applied to the purpose of depriving him of his people's services, task-work, as a voluntary arrangement between master and slave, for their reciprocal benefit, must terminate.

That it is not to be expected, under such an altered state of things, that the master will hesitate to avail himself of the full extent of the limits defined by the law for exacting the service of his slaves; and he will, accordingly, be prompted to keep them at work to the stated period of six in the evening, to prevent the acquirement of means which are to be devoted to his ruin. No counter regulation can obviate this result, without expressly declaring that the daily labour of the slave shall cease at an earlier hour than a due regard to his health and strength makes reasonable, and before he shall have performed an ordinary day's work,—a violation of the rights of private property which your Memorialists conceive can never be deliberately entertained by any Legislature.

That Compulsory Manumission, thus inevitably tending in its effects to check a system so beneficial to the slave as that of task-work—tending to debar him from the greatest practical improvement in the condition of slavery, at the moment he is rising into the character of a moral agent, under the auspices of his master—is manifestly so incompatible with the well-being of the slave himself, as to make any enlargement on the subject absolutely superfluous.

That your Memorialists are well aware that it has been urged by those who have supported the policy of Compulsory Emancipation, that as the price of his emancipation must be earned by the labour of the slave himself, he must, before he has attained it, have acquired those habits of industry which will secure his continuance (when in a state of freedom) in courses that have become habitual to him; and so much is

this relied on, that, in the despatch of your Majesty's Secretary of State it is declared, that the principle of manumission will proceed on presumptive evidence of the slave having acquired habits of industry which may fit him for an independent existence. To your Memorialists, however, it is evident that this mode of reasoning, however plausible, is wholly fallacious and unsound.

It cannot be denied, that in making the exertions which were necessary to procure the price of his emancipation, the negro must have deprived himself of many enjoyments, or gratifications, which the possession of property would afford: one single object, the attainment of his freedom, must have occupied his thoughts; and, instead of acquiring new desires from the possession of property, he must have hoarded up his savings, and controlled his wishes and propensities. In the course, therefore, of this accumulation, no new wants will have been created—no desire for new enjoyments will have sprung up. When he has attained his freedom, his object will be gained, his motive for exertion will be gone, and he will continue the same abject creature that he was—satisfied with the lowest condition in which human beings can exist. In the possession of mere subsistence and relaxation from labour, he will possess all that he ever knew to constitute enjoyment. His wants will be all satisfied, and he will have no motive for exertion. With the absence of the motive for industrious habits, the habit itself will vanish—the industrious slave will sink into the slothful freeman,—and indulging his propensity to indolence, which he has no object to resist, from a

useful and meritorious member of society, he will become an idle and an useless drone. Why should he endure the labour and fatigue of earning money, when he has nothing to gratify by its possession? If all that constitutes happiness in his eyes is his already, and he has a more than ordinary aversion to labour, from constitutional habits and the effects of the climate, it is idle to expect that he will expose himself to fatigue, to purchase nothing more than he can enjoy without it—the absence of laborious exertion.

Your Memorialists, therefore, apprehend, that the idea that the establishment of Compulsory Manumission will create industrious habits, even in the negro that acquires his freedom by his own exertion, is merely visionary. That it can do so in those cases in which the funds for purchase shall be gained by other means, of course, can never be contended.

That your Memorialists beg leave to represent, that, although they are entirely satisfied, that, until a sufficient supply of free labour can be had, Compulsory Manumission must produce complete and speedy ruin to these colonies,—and although they are equally aware that such free labour is wholly unattainable at present,—yet voluntary manumission of their slaves is a circumstance of common occurrence among the proprietors of Demerara and Berbice. A sense of gratitude for faithful services, the desire of setting an example to their other slaves, and other inducements that need not be stated, lead the proprietors to this course, where the personal character and particular circumstances of the slave make it advisable; and it is but reasonable to presume, that voluntary manumis-

sion will progressively increase, when the general efforts that are making for the improvement of the moral and religious character of the black population shall have produced those beneficial effects, which, if steadily and prudently pursued, they cannot fail to introduce. All these advantages, however, which are the more important—because, for the most part, they are bestowed upon deserving slaves—must fall to the ground, if the system of Compulsory Manumission is adopted. It is impossible to expect that those who may be deprived, without their consent, of their most useful servants, will voluntarily give freedom to those whom they can retain.

The progress of voluntary manumission must be left entirely to the master, who must be enabled to make his selection from the whole body of his slaves. If he is interfered with, it cannot subsist; and one inevitable effect of the proposed regulation would be, to deprive the negro of character and good conduct, of his great and increasing chance of procuring freedom by the voluntary act of his master.

If, therefore, the condition of the slave himself was the only consideration, the system proposed is liable to the most obvious and solid objections.

That your Memorialists will now beg leave to call your Majesty's attention to the manner in which the proposed regulation would affect the interests of the Proprietors and Mortgagees of property in the colonies, as well as the slaves themselves. The proposition which the Court of Policy was called upon to adopt was in substance this:—that any slave, desirous of purchasing the freedom of himself or of his family,

should be empowered to do so; and that if the Owner should be unwilling, or demand a greater sum than the value of the slave, one appraiser should be appointed by the Owner, one by the Protector of the slaves, and an umpire by the Chief Judge of the colony, who should value the slave, and on payment of the sum appraised by them into the treasury, the slave should be manumitted.

That your Memorialists beg leave to state, that the profitable cultivation, and, consequently, the value of West India estates, depends upon the slave population being active, zealous, and skilful in the several branches of labour, and, above all, upon their good disposition and willingness to work, without the application of coercion. This is a state of things that cannot be reasonably expected to exist, if the slaves are discontented or their minds unsettled; but which can only be produced by the kind and humane treatment and steady government of the master, who finds that the business of his estate is facilitated by reasonable indulgences and benefits bestowed upon his slaves, who, in their turn, discover that these depend entirely on their own good conduct and assiduity; thus rendering the interests of both parties dependent on each other. The moment that either party ceases to be thus dependent on the other, this happy state of things must have an end. As soon as the master knows that his kindness to the slave is to lead to the loss of a useful and productive labourer, who cannot be replaced, he must, for the protection of his own interest, and to secure the cultivation of his estates, endeavour to retain him in his employment; and, for

this purpose, must withhold these acts of kindness which would enable the slave to leave his service; and the slave thus losing the inducement to cheerful labour, loses his energy, and becomes less useful to his master, at the same time that he becomes less happy in his own condition. Such, of necessity, will be another consequence of any system of Compulsory Manumission, before a supply of free labour has been provided for the colonies. But the manner in which the system now proposed is to be carried into execution, affords objections on the part of the proprietors of equal magnitude. The value of the slave depending on his capacity and willingness to work, the price that any slave must pay for his emancipation must vary with his character and powers. The active, zealous, and efficient labourer must necessarily bear a value far exceeding that which belongs to his feebler, less healthy, and less energetic companion, and he must, consequently, pay a larger price to indemnify his master for the loss of his services. But there can be no such distinction in his mind as to the value of emancipation, or his right to be made free; and thus the man who best deserves encouragement, whose services have been most productive to his master and the public, is kept out of the enjoyment of that boon which is readily bestowed upon another, whose deserts bear no comparison with his own.

To establish such a system is to bestow a premium upon carelessness and inattention, and to depreciate all those qualities that make a man a useful member of society. The active labourer is condemned to labour still, because he has been useful hitherto; the sluggard



is relieved, because he has been indolent and useless. To establish such a principle must lead inevitably to discontent and aversion, to the suppression of all exertion in the individual, and to the concealment and neglect of every useful qualification in others. The obvious interest of the slave, who finds that his good conduct and exertions, instead of procuring for him the great object he has in view, produce positive injury and loss, is to change his course of conduct, and to reduce his value, by becoming a less efficient labourer. Should the master have recourse to coercion, the evil would not be remedied, unless it can be shewn that the service of a discontented and dispirited man — of one who feels himself to be an ill-requited servant — can be equivalent to the cheerful and zealous labour of a willing and contented spirit. It is true, the task may be performed, and it will be so, that the slave may have the means of working for his own emancipation; but it will be badly done; and all those qualities which enhanced his value will be first concealed and then forgotten, and he will gradually cease to be the meritorious individual that he was. But if the slave is likely to be led to the suppression of his intelligence and dexterity for this purpose, he will no less certainly be induced to abandon his former good conduct. His value to his master, and, consequently, the price that he must pay for his emancipation, are increased by his freedom from debauchery and vice; but when he finds that the indulgence in such courses leads to the more speedy acquirement of his liberty, it must require more than human resolution and self-control not to yield to temptations so powerful in

themselves, and so recommended by their immediate consequences. To your Memorialists it appears that the system now proposed is a direct encouragement to every species of idleness and vice. The example, too, will spread: when the person who used to be looked up to as an example, has become negligent and inert, it cannot be supposed that the others will be different.

But these are not the only sources of dissatisfaction founded, in the mind of the slave, on feelings of injustice, that will arise from this regulation. The value of the negro to his master does not depend alone upon the personal qualities of the individual. A negro settled on an estate of which the soil is fertile, the buildings valuable, and the number of slaves barely sufficient for its cultivation, is of far more value to his Owner than a slave of equal power, belonging to a plantation differently circumstanced. The value of the former may be twice as great as that of the latter, and to obtain his freedom, he must pay double the sum that it would cost the latter. Can it be supposed that this inequality can ever be made palatable, or even intelligible to the slave? Is he to be taxed (he will inquire) beyond his neighbour, because the circumstances of their masters happen to be different? Is the duration of his servitude to be longer than his companion's, because the soil of the estate on which he works is better, but the supply of negroes settled on it is smaller, than that of the plantation to which his companion belongs? And can any thing but exasperation and ill-will exist in the bosom of the disappointed but deserving slave, who is doomed to servitude till he has acquired twice the amount that was

sufficient to give freedom to his equal? But other and familiar instances of the effects of an ill-regulated system of giving freedom to the slaves could easily be stated.

The price, for example, that the negro is to pay for his emancipation is to be settled by the opinion the arbitrators may entertain as to his value to his master. Suppose the case (and which, in fact, has happened in Trinidad, where slaves may, by the law, purchase their freedom), that a slave shall have obtained a sum sufficient, according to his own conceptions, to enable him to buy his liberty, but that the arbitrators shall decide that it is not sufficient, and that he must return to his condition of servitude until he shall have earned the price at which he has been valued. In what frame of mind must this individual return to his plantation? For years his mind has been engrossed by this single object, and he has persuaded himself that he was upon the point of having his expectations realized, when all at once he is informed that he must probably pass as many years to come in slavery, as he has already devoted to the accumulation of the money he has got, before his wishes can be gratified. The prospect must be nearly hopeless, and nothing but gloomy discontent can follow a disappointment so severe.

That besides a systematic plan to repress dexterity, and all the other characteristics of a useful servant, the slave may even have recourse to bodily disablement, or reduce himself from a healthy to an apparently unhealthy state, that the price put upon him may be brought down to a level with his means of

purchase; and as such practices exist at present, merely from a desire to pass some time in idleness in the sick-house, there can be little doubt that there would be a vast increase of such stratagems, proportioned to the increased inducements.

That the negro will not be deterred from his plan of self-deterioration by the dread of rigorous treatment from his master, or the authority of the magistrate, because he well knows that at no very distant period he will have the means of procuring his freedom, and this reflection will actuate him until he has ultimately exhausted the patience of the Proprietor.

That under the peculiar circumstances of West India cultivation, the master's property is necessarily much exposed, and liable to be stolen by his slaves.

That, even at present, it is calculated that the quantity stolen annually by the slave amounts to a considerable per-centage on the produce.

That Lord Bathurst, in his despatch of the 25th of February, 1826, declares, that great evils would ensue if manumission were obtained by other means than those of individual and habitual industry; and, in alluding to the possibility of a slave's purchase-money being improperly obtained, his Lordship observes, "For the sake of the community, that indiscriminate manumissions ought to be prevented; for, undoubtedly, if the purchase-money were obtained from any fund which may be formed for the liberation of slaves, there would be no test of previous habits of industry, of which there is presumptive evidence where the money is procured by the honest earnings of the slave."

To obviate this defect, his Lordship proposes that a

certificate of good conduct for five years should be in such case required of the Protector of slaves before the manumission should be completed. But the impossibility of the Protector of slaves being acquainted with the character of each individual in a population of 70,000 slaves, so as to make his certificate of any value, is a sufficient objection to this proposition. For, what reference to previous character can meet the artifices the slave may have recourse to to depreciate his value? Many would consist in the suppression and concealment of his skill and qualifications, and, of course, defy detection; and as the fact became established among the slaves, that the price to be paid for his emancipation would be in proportion to the value of his services, he would feel, that the more he deceives those around him as to his real capability and value, the more easily would he procure his freedom.

That your Memorialists beg leave to represent, that the injury to the Proprietor will not be confined to the loss he may sustain from being deprived of the services of those slaves who may procure their freedom; an injury far more serious would be sustained from the effects produced upon those who would still remain on the estate, because they were unable to procure their emancipation: discontent and disappointment would subvert the discipline of the plantation, and make the cultivation of the property depend entirely upon coercion and restraint.

That your Memorialists request your Majesty's attention to what the consequences of this system must be when it begins to operate to any extent. No Proprietor of estates in the West Indies will ever be disposed to maintain more slaves than the cultivation of

his property requires. Suppose their emancipation to have proceeded to any considerable extent, the slaves remaining would be unable to carry on the cultivation of the estate, unless they should be tasked beyond their strength; so that either the plantation must be neglected, and its Owner ruined, or the exertions of the slave must be increased beyond endurance; for, to supply their place by voluntary labourers has been shewn to be impossible.

That before, however, the progress of emancipation had reached this point, the price the slave must pay for purchasing his freedom would have been so much increased as nearly to amount to a prohibition; for, although the relative utility and consequent value of the slaves who may be first emancipated may be but small, yet, as manumissions multiply, and the number of effective labourers decrease, the importance to the master, and the corresponding value of those who continue on a property so circumstanced, will have become so great as hardly to be made the subject of compensation to the master; for the compensation, to be adequate, must be little less than the whole value of the estate itself.

That the removal of every slave who obtains his freedom must increase the value of those who remain behind: if it increases it so much as to put it beyond the reach of those who continue, the object of the measure is defeated, while the slave is disgusted at being deprived of that emancipation which his more fortunate neighbour has procured. If it proceeds, and many slaves obtain emancipation, how can the culti-

vation of the colony be carried on, where labour is not to be procured for any compensation? Compulsory Emancipation, therefore, if it is to succeed, will be attended with the most injurious effects at once to the negro and to the Proprietor, unless it is accompanied by the means of procuring free labour from other sources.

That, to shew that this view of the question is not unfounded, your Memorialists beg permission to refer to that passage in the despatch above referred to, in which it is stated, that "if, in the process of time, it should be unfortunately found that the slaves thus manumitted altogether abandon their Owners and refuse to work as free persons,—the Owner, not having the means, by reason of the *Abolition Act*, to supply the loss of his slaves, and not being able to engage any free labourers for his sugar plantations,—the price which must then be assigned to the loss of each slave must have a direct reference to that state in which the plantation will be placed by the progressive reduction of the means of cultivating it."

Your Majesty's Government, therefore, feel that it is but an experiment, doubtful in its result, and serious in its consequences. The chance of injury to the Proprietors is admitted; but it is supposed to be provided for, in case it should occur. But your Memorialists submit, that the remedy proposed in this despatch will come too late,—at all events it can be but partial,—and it implies, if it is to be effectual, the absolute abandonment of the whole system. Your Memorialists therefore submit, that it is quite evident

that the regulation proposed is altogether unfitted to the present condition of your Majesty's West India colonies.

That your Memorialists beg leave to represent that other effects, most prejudicial to their interests, and most unjust in their consequences, are necessarily attendant on this system of Compulsory Manumission.

That on most West India plantations, not more than one-third part of the slaves can be reckoned as efficient for field cultivation, considering the old and infirm, the infant and the helpless, all of whom are unserviceable, but whom the Proprietor is by law compelled to support.

That the young and able, and those in the prime of life, and under the strongest influence of the passions, to whom all the temptations to idleness present themselves in full force, would lose no time in availing themselves of any opportunity to obtain their freedom.

That, on the contrary, the old slaves on a plantation, in whom the ardent passions had subsided, knowing that they would soon come to be exempt from work, and entitled to that maintenance gratuitously from their masters, which, in a state of freedom, they would have to earn for themselves, would make no attempt to procure their own liberation, but would devote their earnings to the ransom of their children.

That this double operation of the young and efficient freeing themselves, or being freed by their aged connexions, and the aged and infirm remaining to be supported by the Proprietor, would at once increase the burdens of a plantation, and diminish its ability to bear them.



That your Memorialists are not aware that any limitation is proposed to be put upon the powers of the negro population to purchase the manumission of themselves or of their families; and with that impression, they beg leave to represent to your Majesty what the effects would be of any systematic plan for procuring the freedom of female children. If such a course should be adopted, all prospect of continuing the labouring population of the colonies would be at an end, and the means of cultivation would expire with the present generation.

That your Memorialists cannot conceal from themselves, that there exists among many persons in this country a strong desire for the extermination of slavery, without regard to its consequences on the property of their fellow-subjects. The price of infant females would be comparatively small, and they cannot but entertain the most serious apprehensions that, under the influence of misguided zeal, this plan might be adopted to the most alarming extent, whether the means should be supplied from a fund raised in this country, or by the slaves themselves, under the instigation of such persons.

That your Memorialists beg leave further to represent, that nothing is so important to the well-being of the slaves, or to the interest of the Proprietors, as the introduction among the negroes of a higher sense of their moral and religious duties; that, above all things, the discouragement to prostitution of the female slaves, and elevating the ideas of the negroes in regard to the virtuous union of the sexes, is most to be inculcated: but if it was at the option of every slave to procure

freedom for money, without the acquiescence of their master, it is quite evident, that young females would be purchased for the purpose of prostitution, more especially near the towns; while it would be utterly impossible to detect the various stratagems by which the purposes intended would be concealed. That if this practice once obtained, and was found easy of execution, the female slaves would be taught, by a powerful incentive, to court illicit connexion with the whites, in preference to marriage with men of their own class; and thus, besides the encouragement so directly held out to immorality, the children proceeding from these connexions would be left destitute, in case of the absence or death of the father, and thrown upon the casual charity of the public.

That the check to such illicit connexions, which at present subsists in the dread of bringing into existence an offspring whose lot would be slavery, would be removed, and every barrier to this most general and most destructive immorality be done away with.

That your Memorialists have embarked their capital in the colonies of Demerara and Berbice, to a very large amount, upon lands, buildings, machinery, and slaves, which cannot be removed or converted to any other purpose, and must stand or fall with the prosperity and welfare of the colonies. They are prepared to prove, by unquestionable evidence, that, owing to the dangers which are felt to impend over the colonies, from the proceedings in this country, which have led to the serious diminution of the influence and control of the masters over their slaves, property has been already decreased in value to a very considerable

extent; and that the deterioration to which they refer has not arisen from mercantile distress, is manifest, as there has not been a corresponding fall in the prices of produce. If the measures proposed are carried into effect, the feeling of insecurity on the part of the Proprietors must be greatly increased, and it will become impossible to effect sales of property, or transfers of mortgages, on terms at all commensurate with the former value of the property, which must deeply affect the pecuniary interests of those who have made investments and advances in these colonies, in implicit confidence that their property depended on the same law, and was as firmly secured to them, as it had been previously in England.

That your Memorialists, or their predecessors, having been induced to embark their capital in these colonies, upon the faith of British Acts of Parliament, and decisions in which slaves have been recognised as the absolute property of their Owners, cannot but feel that their rights were guaranteed to them with all the solemnities of which the British Constitution was susceptible. And that it is neither just nor legal to deprive them of the most important part of their property,—of that, indeed, which alone gives value and importance to the rest,—without the most complete and ample compensation given to them *before hand*—without being subject to the smallest risk or hazard. But it cannot be denied by the most sanguine, and is expressly admitted in the despatch of your Majesty's Secretary of State, that the extent to which the claim for indemnity may go, cannot be foreseen or provided for at present. That when money has been lent on mortgage, in these colo-

nies, it has been on the assurance, that every slave upon the property was available to the lender as a security, and could not be removed without his sanction and concurrence. If they are now to be permitted to separate themselves from the estate, the condition upon which he advanced his capital is broken, and the security made precarious. That your Memorialists have always understood, that when land is made the subject of a mortgage in this country, the creditor has the security, not only of the land itself, but of the buildings, the timber, the improvements, in short, of every thing that grows or forms a part of the estate,—that no one can deprive him of the smallest article of his security without his consent, be its value ever so insignificant,—that it forms an indivisible security. If, in England, property cannot be interfered with and dilapidated,—if the timber on the estate is continued the inviolable security to the creditor in England,—upon what principle of law or equity, it may be asked, is the slave in Demerara to be removed from the estate?

When the Legislature in this country sanctions interference with private property, for great public purposes (and it never does but for such purposes), adequate compensation is secured by every safeguard that human ingenuity can devise. An impartial jury, subject to challenge on the slightest suspicion of bias, is assisted by a judge, independent of the crown, and whose character solely rests upon the uprightness of his conduct; witnesses are examined, and testimony of every description that can assist in arriving at a fair measure of compensation, is admitted; counsel are employed to exert their learning and ingenuity in bringing under

the consideration of the jury whatever is entitled to weight. With all these pledges of fair compensation, legislative authority to touch private property is granted only after satisfactory proof that the result will be paramount public good. If such caution and guards are requisite in this country, where the nature and value of property is well understood, and where pecuniary considerations alone are in question, it will be admitted, that the caution and guards ought only to be bounded by the limits of human wisdom, where, to rights and property, are added the higher considerations of life and moral improvement.

Your Memorialists therefore conclude, that Compulsory Manumission of the slaves, which is thus destructive of the rights both of the Proprietor and his Creditor, is directly at variance with that fair and equitable consideration of the interests of private property, which, by the resolutions of both Houses of Parliament, was made a *condition precedent* to the emancipation of the slaves, and is in direct violation of those statutes upon the faith of which the parties embarked their capital.

That, knowing the paternal goodness of your Majesty, your Memorialists have relied on the broad and inde-feasible justice of their case, without wishing to occupy too much of your Majesty's royal attention in setting forth their claims as landed proprietors in colonies taken possession of by your Majesty's arms, under particular conditions and stipulations.

That your Memorialists will also abstain from offering any observations on the *details* of Compulsory Manumission, and the manner in which the system is proposed to work. But they beg leave to assure your

Majesty, that they have as weighty objections to state against the mode in which it is proposed to execute this measure, as they have presumed to state to the measure itself.

That your Memorialists having said so much with respect to the slaves themselves, and their own individual interest, request permission shortly to advert to the manner in which this system would affect the safety of the colonies and the interests of Great Britain.

That supposing, for the sake of argument, the experiment to succeed to the fullest extent that its most sanguine promoters can desire, and that the slave population shall obtain the means of making compensation to their masters, and obtain their freedom to any considerable extent, in what manner is the cultivation of the colonies to be carried on ?

Free labour, your Memorialists undertake to prove, is not to be procured for any consideration, nor could be so, if every slave was free. The number of slaves at present is not greater than is required to cultivate the ground ; but when that number is diminished by the operation of Compulsory Manumission, the consequences must be, that the colonies will, to a great degree, cease to be cultivated and productive. If colonies are of importance to the mother country, it is from the commodities they produce adding to its trade, navigation, and commerce, and from the consumption of its manufactures by the population employed in raising those productions ; but if the labourers required to cultivate the land shall be removed, it is obvious that their utility must cease, and they will remain a burden and expence, instead of a benefit, to the mother country.

That it will not be denied, that the tendency of the measure proposed, and the object it professes, is to emancipate all the negro population. And if the answer to this view of the question is, that it misconceives the mode in which the plan will work, and that free labour will be produced before the slave population is so diminished,—your Memorialists are ready to join issue on that fact; and can assert, without the chance of contradiction, that no individual, whose experience can entitle his opinion to the smallest attention, will be found to maintain that proposition. But if its operation is to be thus postponed, is it not plain, that the introduction of this measure will operate to raise delusive hopes in the minds of the negro population which cannot be fulfilled, and the non-performance of which must be attended with the most disastrous consequences.

That your Memorialists presume to think, that the greatest misfortune which could befall the colonies would be, that the slaves should be impressed with an idea that their masters were averse to the improvement of their condition, or be taught to look up to any other authority than that which they have been accustomed to obey.

That since the recent agitation of this subject of emancipation, great excitement has prevailed among the slaves. Every one acquainted with the character of that race is well aware of their extreme susceptibility. To hold out expectations, therefore, to them, of obtaining their freedom, even as a matter of probability, and to inspire hopes which cannot be realized in any stated period, appears to be peculiarly unwise, unstatesman-like, and dangerous. That the slaves themselves will

form the most sanguine expectations, will hardly be denied,—and if those expectations should be frustrated, either by the sums required being beyond their reach, or from the system itself being incapable of being executed,—it is the firm belief of your Memorialists, that the negro population would believe that they had been imposed on by an unworthy fallacy, or that their just expectations had been defeated by their masters from motives of self-interest; and that the discontent which now prevails would grow into rebellion, with all the horrors and atrocities that must accompany such an insurrection.

That if this view of the question shall be found to be correct, your Memorialists most humbly submit, that the measure proposed is no less incompatible with the welfare of the state than with the well-being of the slaves and the interests of private property.

That your Memorialists, therefore, cannot but feel that this measure of Compulsory Manumission, so far from being in accordance with the resolutions expressed by the two Houses of Parliament, is at variance with them in every part, and must necessarily defeat the objects they were intended to advance. But before they conclude this lengthened representation, they beg once more to express, in the most solemn language, their sincere and anxious wish to improve the condition of their slaves at present, by every means within their power, and to concur in their gradual emancipation, as soon as it can be effected with justice and with safety. They had flattered themselves, that the sincerity of this declaration had been proved, by their concurrence with the Court of Policy in the adoption of every measure



but the present which had been submitted to its consideration by your Majesty's Government.

That of all that has been proposed, they have alone objected to the measure of Compulsory Manumission; and to this are opposed, because they have always thought,—and had supposed that your Majesty's Government had concurred with them,—that the time had not yet come when freedom could, with benefit or safety, be granted to the negroes; but that the progressive amelioration of their condition, the diffusion of education and moral instruction, the better appreciation of the blessings of a pure religion, and a gradual revolution in manners and opinions, should be allowed to exercise their salutary influence, until slavery was insensibly softened into freedom. That it appeared to them, that Compulsory Manumission proceeds in express contradiction to this principle. It teaches the slave, that the sooner he demands his freedom, the easier it will be to him to procure it. It discourages the idea of delaying till the morals be improved by instruction, or the manners softened by civilization; and urges him to rush forward by the most expeditious but most pernicious course, by teaching him that those only who delay incur the danger of failing in their object.

That any measure thus working on the predominant passions of men, awaking in them feelings of distrust and envy, prompting each to take advantage of his fellow, and forestalling universally the fruits of civilization, must be utterly incompatible with the well-being of the slave, and consequently at variance with the resolution of both Houses of Parliament.

That your Memorialists do not presume to intrude

their opinion upon the wisdom of your Majesty's Councils; but having naturally bestowed the greatest attention upon a subject so deeply affecting their property, they may be permitted to state, that it has always occurred to them, that if the object be to preserve the colonies to your Majesty's crown, and at the same time to establish a state of *civilized black society*, the only means by which that can be accomplished is to afford the negroes a motive for regular and steady industry; that this stimulus can only be given by imbuing the negroes with a desire for the conveniences and refinements of civilized life, and convincing them that they cannot, in a state of freedom, satisfy their wants without exertion, but that, like the labouring classes in Europe, they must work to procure them. That, upon these grounds, the object of the Government should be, to raise the slave in the scale of civilized beings—to increase his own self-esteem by gradual means—to create new wants, for the gratification of which he will consent to labour—to enlarge his sense of moral and religious duties—and to call forth the energies of his character, for the purpose of improving his condition.

That if those preliminary but essential and indispensable steps were taken, the violent expedient of Compulsory Manumission would be superseded, and the humane and intelligent among your Majesty's subjects would have the gratification of perceiving that each succeeding year led the slaves nearer to that state of civilization which would fit them for a participation in civil rights and privileges.

That if a long period of time must still elapse before the general enfranchisement can be accomplished, it

must not be forgotten for how many ages slavery has formed a part of our colonial system ; that it pervades and influences every relation of social life in the West Indies ; that the very subsistence of many of your Majesty's subjects at present entirely depends upon it ; that the slaves themselves are unfitted to receive the character of freemen ; that hitherto no legislator has ventured to reform it, and that to proceed rashly may not only be attended with incalculable mischief, but may defeat the end itself ; and that it is by cautious and well-considered legislation alone that such a system can be reformed.

That on all these grounds, every consideration which ought to sway the Councils of your Majesty,—policy, justice, regard to the sacred rights of individuals,—rise in appeal against the proposition for issuing an Order giving freedom to the slaves without the concurrence of their masters.

That your Memorialists have observed, with the utmost alarm, the statement in the despatch of your Majesty's Secretary of State, that from the final accomplishment of this measure the country will not be diverted. But your Memorialists conceive, that however loudly some enthusiastic individuals, imperfectly informed upon the subject, may contend for immediate emancipation, the moderate and well-informed part of the community are aware of the difficulties that attend it, and feel that a long period must elapse before the rights and privileges of the free citizen can be extended to the slave. That were a full investigation into their personal condition set afoot, it would be demonstrated that they enjoy more comfort and happiness than any black society

have ever done; and that then the spirit of hostility to the West India proprietors, now entertained by many humane individuals, from ignorance of the facts, would vanish. No inconsiderable change has already taken place in the public opinion upon this subject; and when it shall be fully known how completely the question of emancipation depends upon that of free labour, and the consequences of granting freedom to the negroes in their present condition shall be fully understood in all its bearings, your Memorialists are persuaded, that the opinion of the country will be as strongly expressed against this measure, as it is asserted by that despatch to be now declared in its favour.

That your Memorialists are aware that they possess no power, and still less have they any inclination, to resist your Majesty's determination; but conscious of their loyalty to your Majesty's person and Government, they throw themselves with unbounded confidence upon your justice for protection. They have already suffered greatly in their property, and their injuries are increasing every day; and they are confident that your Majesty will agree that they are entitled to the same protection for their property in the colonies which is so amply secured to every individual in Great Britain, and therefore they feel satisfied that your Majesty will not sanction this system with your royal approbation.

PRAYER—Your Memorialists therefore humbly pray,  
that your Majesty will be graciously pleased to  
permit them to be heard before your Majesty

in Council, and to produce witnesses in support of the premises hereinbefore set forth ; and that your Majesty will be further graciously pleased to direct that no Order in Council may issue, allowing the slaves in Demerara to purchase their freedom without the concurrence of their masters ; and to direct that an Order recently passed by the newly constituted Council in Berbice, for the purpose of enabling slaves so to do in the last-mentioned colony, may be rescinded ; or that your Majesty would be pleased to give such direction or Order for the relief of your Memorialists in the premises, as to your Majesty in Council shall seem just.

And your Memorialists, as in duty bound, will ever pray, &c.

(Signed)

J. BLAIR,  
WM. KING,  
JOHN INNES,  
CHARLES M'GAREL,  
ANDREW COLVILE,  
PH. M. LUCAS,

The Committee appointed at a Meeting of Proprietors and Mortgagees of Estates in the Colonies of Demerara and Berbice, held in London, the 13th day of November, 1826.

## No. IV.

TO THE

KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY

IN COUNCIL;

*THE HUMBLE PETITION of the several  
Persons whose Names are hereunto subscribed—*

SHEWETH,

THAT your Petitioners are respectively Owners and Proprietors of, or Mortgagees and Creditors upon, plantations and slaves, to a very great extent, in your Majesty's united colonies of Demerara and Essequibo.

That your Petitioners observe, by a despatch bearing date the 25th day of February, 1826, addressed by the Right Honourable Earl Bathurst, one of your Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, having the department of the colonies, to the Lieutenant-Governor of the said united colonies of Demerara and Essequibo, and printed by order of the House of Commons, that it has been proposed to the Court of Policy of the said colonies, that that Court should enact a law, giving to the slave population of those colonies the right to purchase their freedom without the previous consent of their masters, on certain conditions set forth in the despatch; and

that it has been expressly declared by Earl Bathurst, that, in the event of the Court of Policy declining to comply, his Lordship would submit to your Majesty the expediency of enacting such a law by your Majesty's royal authority.

That your Petitioners have received information that the Court of Policy of Demerara and Essequibo have felt themselves compelled, by a sense of duty to their fellow-colonists, to decline complying with the injunctions contained in the despatch of Earl Bathurst; and your Petitioners are consequently led to apprehend that the same will be carried into effect by Orders to be issued by your Majesty in Council.

That your Petitioners crave permission to assure your Majesty, that they are as sincerely desirous as any class of your Majesty's subjects to see the slaves enabled to acquire their freedom, on terms compatible with the well-being of the slaves themselves, the safety of the colonies, and a fair and equitable consideration of the interests of private property.

But your Petitioners beg leave, at the same time, humbly to represent to your Majesty, that, after the most anxious consideration of the subject, they are impressed with a deep conviction that the measure, as proposed by Earl Bathurst, will in its operation be found productive of consequences of such a nature as to render it incompatible with the well-being of the slaves, the safety of the colonies, and the just consideration of private property, unless provision be made, in the first instance, to avert those consequences, in a manner more immediate and effectual than is contemplated by his Lordship in the despatch before alluded to:

Your Petitioners, therefore, humbly pray, that your Majesty will be graciously pleased not to issue any Order in Council enabling the slave population of Demerara and Essequibo to obtain their freedom, without your Petitioners being first heard in defence of your Petitioners' rights and interests before your Majesty in Council; and that your Majesty will be further graciously pleased to permit your Petitioners to be previously heard by their Counsel in that behalf.

JOHN CROSTHWAITE,  
DANIEL WILLINK,  
WILLIAM MYERS,  
JOHN MOSS,  
HENRY MOSS,  
THOS. MURRAY,  
GEO. GRANT,  
JOS. EWART,  
JOSEPH JONES,  
J. BOLTON,  
JOHN GLADSTONE,

SAMUEL SANDBACH,  
WILLIAM SHAND,  
FR<sup>s</sup>. SHAND,  
CHARLES J. PARKER,  
NICHs. SALISBURY,  
JAMES BATESON,  
P. F. TINNE,  
CHARLES SHAND,  
CHARLES HORSFALL,  
JOHN WILSON,  
JOHN EWART.

*Liverpool, 18th January, 1827.*



## No. V.

TO THE

KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY

IN COUNCIL;

*THE HUMBLE PETITION of the several  
Persons whose Names are hereunto subscribed—*

SHEWETH,

THAT your Petitioners are respectively Owners and Proprietors of, or Mortgagees and Creditors upon, plantations and slaves, to a considerable extent, in your Majesty's colonies of Demerara and Berbice.

That by a despatch, addressed by the Right Honourable Earl Bathurst, one of your Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, to the Lieutenant-Governor of Demerara, dated the 25th day of February, 1826, and printed by order of the Honourable the House of Commons, your Petitioners perceive that it has been proposed to the Court of Policy of Demerara to enact a law, whereby the slave population of that colony may demand, without the previous consent of their masters, to purchase their freedom, on certain conditions set forth in the said despatch, with an express declaration, that if the Court of Policy shall decline compliance, his

Lordship would submit to your Majesty the expediency of enacting such a law by your Majesty's royal authority.

That your Petitioners are recently informed that the Court of Policy have felt themselves compelled, by a sense of duty to their fellow-colonists, to decline compliance with the injunctions contained in the despatch of Earl Bathurst; and your Petitioners, therefore, cannot avoid apprehending that your Majesty will be humbly advised to carry into effect, by Orders in Council, the measure proposed to the Court of Policy in Demerara, and to extend the same to the adjoining colony of Berbice.

That your Petitioners most humbly assure your Majesty, with truth and sincerity, that none of your Majesty's subjects are more desirous than your Petitioners that the slaves may be enabled to obtain their freedom, on terms compatible with the well-being of the slaves themselves, the safety of the colonies, and a fair and equitable consideration of the interests of private property; but that they are impressed with the firmest conviction, that the measure proposed by Earl Bathurst would be incompatible with all those important considerations.

Your Petitioners, therefore, humbly pray, that your Majesty will be graciously pleased not to issue any Order in Council, enabling the slave population of Demerara and Berbice to obtain their freedom without the consent of their Owners, and without your Petitioners being first heard in defence of your Petitioners' rights and interests before your Majesty in Council; and

that your Majesty will be further graciously pleased to permit your Petitioners to be previously heard by Counsel in that behalf.

THOS. DANIEL,  
JOSEPH BEETE,  
ED. BARNWELL,  
WM. CLAXTON,  
JOHN WALCOTT,  
GEO. H. AMES,  
JANNET FERRIER,

KATHARINE FERRIER,  
HUGH D. BAILLIE,  
JAS. E. BAILLIE,  
CHAS. PINNEY,  
ROBERT EDW. CADE,  
JOHN FRED. PINNEY.

*Bristol, 1826.*

## No. VI.

TO THE  
 KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY  
 IN COUNCIL;

*THE PETITION of the several Persons whose  
 Names are hereunto subscribed—*

HUMBLY SHEWETH,

THAT your Petitioners are extensive Owners and Proprietors of, or Mortgagees and Creditors upon, estates, plantations, and slaves, in the colonies of Demerara and Berbice.

That your Petitioners have observed, with much pain and alarm, that it has been proposed by Earl Bathurst, to the Courts at Demerara, to enact a law, conferring the RIGHT on slaves, under certain conditions, to purchase their freedom without the previous consent of their masters; and that the Courts in Demerara, having felt themselves bound by necessity, and with due regard to the interest of the colony, to refuse to comply with the proposal, the Petitioners are alarmed lest your Majesty's advisers may recommend to your Majesty to carry it into effect by Orders in Council, to extend also to the colony of Berbice.

That such a measure, if carried into effect, would be dangerous to the very existence of the whole West India colonies, highly prejudicial to the interests of the Planters and Mortgagees, inconsistent with the rights of private property, which your Majesty and your

royal predecessors have always respected, and also inconsistent with the well-being of the slaves themselves.

Your Petitioners, therefore, humbly pray, that your Majesty will forbid any Order in Council to be issued, authorizing the slave population in the colonies of Demerara and Berbice to obtain their freedom without the consent of their Owners ; or, at all events, that, previously to issuing such Order, your Majesty will permit your Petitioners to be heard by their Counsel, in defence of their rights and interests.

And your Petitioners shall ever pray.

JAMES CAMPBELL,	JAMES FYFFE,
JAMES BOGLE,	S. THOMSON,
ARCHD. DOUGLAS,	WM. HAMILTON,
THO. W. DOUGLAS,	ARCH. BOGLE,
HENRY CAMPBELL,	JAS. CAMPBELL,
CHARLES S. PARKER,	ALEXANDER INERARITY,
J. P. M'INROY,	COLIN CAMPBELL,
THOMAS CAMPBELL,	C. STERLING, Jun.
JAMES ECCLES,	WM. LECKIE EWING,
JOHN ANDERSON,	JOHN GORDON,
FREDERICK ADAMSON,	COLIN D. DONALD,
WM. ECCLES,	COLIN CAMPBELL,
WILLIAM DOUGLAS,	MUNGO CAMPBELL.
PETER M'LAGAN,	

*Glasgow, 24th November, 1826.*

THE END.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY J. MOVES, TOOK'S COURT, CHANCERY LANE.













